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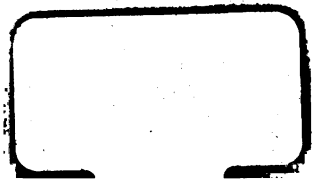

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TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS THE YOUNGER

IN

GREECE,

DURING

THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA.

BY THE ABBE BARTHELEMY,

LATE KEEPER OF THE MEDALS IN THE CABINET OF THE KING OF FRANCE,
AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS
AND BELLES LETTRES.

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CONTENTS.

VOL. IV.

		Page
CHAP. 44.	Life of Lycurgus	1
45.	Of the Government of Lacedæmon	10
46.	Of the Laws of Lacedæmon	32
47.	Of the Education and Marriage of the Spartans	42
48.	Of the Manners and Customs of the Spartans	59
49.	Of the Religion and Festivals of the Spartans	85
50.	Of Military Service among the Spartans	91
51.	Defence of the Laws of Lycurgus.—Causes of their Decline	100
52.	Journey through Arcadia	129
53.	Journey through Argolis	159
54.	The Republic of Plato	188
55.	Of the Commerce of the Athenians	217
56.	Of the Taxes and Finances of the Athenians	228
57.	Continuation of the Library.—Logic	239
58.	Continuation of an Athenian Library.—Rhetoric	257
59.	Tour of Attica.—Agriculture.—Mines of Sunium.—Discourse of Plato on the Formation of the World	309
60.	Remarkable Events in Greece and Sicily (from the Year 357 to the Year 354 before Christ).—Expedition of Dion.—Prosecution of the Generals Timotheus and Iphicrates.—Beginning of the Sacred War	353

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CONTENTS.

Page

CHAP. 61. Letters on the general Affairs of Greece, addressed to Anacharsis and Philotas during their Travels in Egypt and Persia 382

NOTES 499

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TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS.

CHAPTER XLIV.

The Life of Lycurgus.

I HAVE said, in the introduction to this work, that the descendants of Hercules, formerly expelled from Peloponnesus, returned thither eighty years after the taking of Troy. Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, the three sons of Aristomachus, brought with them an army of Dorians, and made themselves masters of this part of Greece. In the division of the country, Argolis fell to Temenus, and Messenia to Cresphontes.[g] The third brother dying in the mean time, Euristhenes and Procles his sons possessed themselves of Laconia. From these two princes sprang the two families which, for about nine centuries, have reigned conjointly at Lacedæmon.

This rising state was often shaken by intestine

[g] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 683.

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factions or daring enterprises. It was threatened with speedy destruction when one of its kings, named Polydectes, died without issue. Lycurgus his brother succeeded him. It was not then known that the queen was pregnant. As soon as Lycurgus was informed that she was so, he declared that if she gave an heir to the throne, he would be the first to acknowledge his right, and, as a proof of his sincerity, only administered the government of the kingdom in quality of guardian to the young prince.

The queen, however, caused it to be signified to him, that if he would consent to marry her, she would not hesitate to destroy her child. To prevent the execution of so horrid a project, Lycurgus amused her with vain hopes.[h] She brought forth a son: Lycurgus took him in his arms, and showing him to the magistrates at Sparta, "See," said he, "the king who is born to you."

The joy which he testified at an event that deprived him of the crown, added to the wisdom with which he had administered the affairs of the state, procured him the respect and love of the greater part of the citizens; but these virtues were a subject of alarm to some leading men. They were seconded by the queen, who, to revenge the supposed injury she had suffered, excited against him his relations and friends. They alleged that it was dangerous to confide the life of the young prince to the care of a man whose principal interest it was to shorten his days.

[h] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 40.

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These murmurs, though feeble at first, at length gathered so much strength, that, to silence them, he was obliged to leave his country.

In Crete, the laws of the sage Minos long engaged his attention. He admired the harmony which they maintained in the state, and among individuals. Among the intelligent persons who assisted him with their knowledge and abilities, he had formed an intimate connexion with a poet of the name of Thales, whom he judged worthy to promote the great designs he revolved in his mind.[i] Thales, by his advice, went and resided at Lacedæmon, where he recited poems which invited and prepared the minds of men to obedience and concord.

The better to judge of the effects which are produced by different governments and manners, Lycurgus visited the coasts of Asia. He there only saw laws and minds without vigour. The Cretans, under a simple and strict government, were happy: the Iönians, who pretended to be so, were the slaves of pleasure and licentiousness. An inestimable discovery recompensed him for the disgusting scene before his eyes. The poems of Homer fell into his hands, and in them he saw, with surprise, the noblest maxims of morals and politics embellished by the charms of fiction. With this work he therefore resolved to enrich Greece.[k]

While he continued to travel through distant lands, every where studying the genius and the work

[i] Strab. lib. 10. p. 482. [k] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 41.

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of legislators, and gathering the seeds of happiness which were scattered through different countries, Lacedæmon, wearied of her divisions, sent to him, more than once, deputies who pressed him to return to the succour of the state. He alone was able to guide the reins of government, which had been, by turns, in the hands of the kings and in those of the multitude![l] He long refused, but at length yielded to the united and ardent solicitations of all the citizens of Lacedæmon.

On his return to Sparta, he soon perceived that the reformation necessary was not to repair the edifice of the laws, but to pull it down and erect another entirely new. He foresaw all the obstacles to this design, but was not intimidated. He had in his favour, the respect paid to his birth and virtues, his genius, his knowledge, that majestic courage which impels the minds of men, and that conciliatory spirit which attracts them:[m] he had, in fine, the approbation of heaven, which, after the example of other legislators, he had always been careful to secure. On consulting the oracle at Delphi, he had received for answer: "The gods accept thy worship, and under their auspices thou shalt frame the most excellent of political constitutions." Lycurgus afterwards never neglected to maintain a correspondence with the pythia, who successively impressed on his laws the seal of divine authority.[n]

Before he began his operations, he submitted his

[l] Plut. in Lycurg. tom. i. p. 42. [m] Id. ibid. [n] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 1. c. 16.

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plan to the examination of his friends and the most distinguished citizens. From these he chose thirty, who were to attend him, completely armed, in the general assembly. This guard was not, however, always sufficient to prevent tumults. In a commotion which happened in consequence of a new law, the rich citizens rose upon him with so much fury, that he determined to take refuge in a neighbouring temple; but as he retired he received a violent blow, which, it is said, deprived him of an eye. He contented himself with showing to those who pursued him his face covered with blood. At this sight, the greater part of them, ashamed of what they had done, accompanied him home with every mark of respect and grief, expressing the utmost detestation of the action, and delivering the person who had committed it into his hands, to dispose of him as he should please. This was a violent and impetuous youth. Lycurgus, without loading him with reproaches, or uttering the least complaint, took him to his house, and having caused his friends and domestics to retire, directed him to serve him, and dress his wound. The young man silently obeyed, and, witnessing every moment new proofs of the goodness, patience, and great qualities of Lycurgus, changed his hatred into love, and corrected the violence of his own character after so noble a model.°

The new constitution was at length approved by all orders of the state. The parts of it were so well combined, that, on the first trials, it was judged that

° Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 45.

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nothing was wanting.[p] Yet, notwithstanding its excellence, it was not assured of duration. Lycurgus, therefore, when the people were assembled, thus addressed them; "It still remains for me to lay before you the most important article of my legislation, but I wish first to consult the oracle of Delphi. Promise me that, until my return, you will make no alteration in the laws already established." They promised him. "Swear it," said he. The kings, senators, and all the citizens, called the gods to be witnesses to their words.[q] This solemn engagement could not but be irrevocable, for it was his resolution never more to return to his country.

He immediately repaired to Delphi, and inquired whether the new laws were sufficient to ensure the happiness of the Spartans. The pythia having answered that Sparta would be the most flourishing of cities so long as she could continue to observe them, Lycurgus sent that oracle to Lacedæmon, and condemned himself to voluntary banishment.[r] He died far from the country of whose happiness he had been the cause.

It has been said that Lacedæmon has not rendered sufficient honours to his memory,[s] no doubt because it is impossible she should ever render too many. She has dedicated to him a temple, in which a sacrifice is offered every year.[t] His relations and

[p] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 57. [q] Id. ibid. Nicol. Damasc. in excerpt. Vales. p. 446. [r] Plut. ibid. [s] Aristot. apud. Plut. ibid. p. 59. [t] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 66. Pausan. lib. 3. c. 16. p. 248.

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friends formed a society[u] which has been perpetuated to our days, and which meets from time to time, to renew the memory of his virtues. One day, when this assembly was held in the temple, Euclidas addressed the following discourse to the tutelary genius of the place.

We celebrate thee without knowing by what name to call thee. The pythia doubted if thou wert not rather a god than a mortal;[x] in this uncertainty she named thee the friend of the gods, because thou wert the friend of men.

Thy great soul would feel a just indignation, should we attribute to thee as a merit that thou didst not procure to thyself the crown by a crime; and little would it be flattered should we add, that thou exposed thy life and renounced repose to do good. Those sacrifices which cost an effort are alone to be praised.

The greater part of legislators have gone astray by following the beaten track. Thou sawest that to procure happiness to a nation, it must be conducted through a new and unusual path.[y] We praise thee for having better known the human heart in the time of ignorance, than it has been understood by philosophers in this enlightened age.

We thank thee for having provided a check to the authority of the kings, to the insolence of the

[u] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 59. [x] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 65. Plut. ibid. p. 42. [y] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 675.

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people, to the pretensions of the rich, to our passions, and even to our virtues.

We thank thee for having placed above us a sovereign power which sees every thing, can effect every thing, and which nothing can corrupt. Thou hast placed the laws upon the throne, and our magistrates at their feet; while in other states, a mortal is on the throne, and the laws under his feet. The laws are like a palm tree, which nourishes equally with its fruit all who repose beneath its shade; while the despot is like a tree planted on a mountain, and surrounded only by vultures and serpents.

We thank thee that thou hast left us only a small number of rational and just ideas, and that thou hast prevented us from having more desires than wants.

We thank thee for having presumed so well of us as to believe that we should need to request no other courage of the gods, but that which may enable us to endure injustice, when it is necessary.[z]

When thou sawest thy laws, resplendent in grandeur and beauty, act, if I may so speak, of themselves, without clashing or disjoining, it has been said that thou wast transported with a pure joy resembling that of the Supreme Being, when he beheld the universe, immediately after its creation, execute all its motions in perfect harmony and regularity.[a]

[z] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239. [a] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 57.

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Thy course on earth has only been marked by benefits: happy shall we be, if recalling them incessantly to memory, we may be able to transmit to our sons the deposit committed to our care, such as it was received by our fathers.

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CHAPTER XLV.

Of the Government of Lacedæmon.

SINCE the first establishment of societies, it has every where been the constant endeavour of sovereigns to extend their prerogative, and that of their subjects to circumscribe and contract it. The troubles which are the consequence of this struggle have been more felt at Sparta than in any other state. On the one side are two kings, whose interests are frequently distinct, and who are always supported by a great number of partisans; and on the other, a warlike and untractable people, who neither knowing to command or obey, have by turns precipitated the government into the extremes of tyranny and democracy.[b]

Lycurgus had too much understanding to abandon the administration of public affairs to the caprices of the multitude,[c] or to leave it entirely to the will of the two princes on the throne. He sought a mean by which he might temper power by wisdom, and believed that he had found it in Crete, where a supreme council moderates the authority of the sovereign.[d] He established one nearly similar at Sparta. Twenty-eight aged men, of consummate experience, were appointed to share with the kings the plenitude

[b] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 42. [c] Id. Apophth. Lacon. p. 228.
[d] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 10. t. ii. p. 332.

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of power.[e] It was regulated that the great interests of the state should be discussed in this august senate; that the two kings should preside in it, and that every question should be decided by the plurality of voices;[f] that the determinations of this council should afterwards be laid before the general assembly of the state, which should have the right to approve or reject them, but not be permitted to make in them the smallest alteration.[g]

Whether this latter clause was not expressed with sufficient clearness, or whether the discussion of the decrees naturally inspired the desire of making alterations in them, the people insensibly assumed to themselves the right of altering them by additions or retrenchments. This abuse was finally abolished by Polydorus and Theopompus, who reigned about a hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus.[h] These princes caused a new article to be added by the pythia of Delphi to the oracle which had regulated the distribution of power.[i]

The senate had till then maintained an equilibrium between the kings and the people;[k] but the places of the senators as well as the authority of the kings being held for life, it was to be feared that, in time, these might too closely unite, and no longer find any opposition to their will. A part of their functions, therefore, were transferred to five magis-

[e] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. p. 692. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 42. [f] Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2. cap. 14. t. i. p. 264. [g] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 42. [h] Id. ibid. [i] Id. ibid. [k] Id. ibid. Polyb. lib. 6. p. 459.

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trates named ephori, or inspectors, appointed to defend the people in case of oppression. This new intermediary body was instituted, with the consent of the state, by the king Theopompus.[l] *

If we may believe philosophers, this prince, by limiting his authority, rendered it more solid and durable.[m] If we judge by the event, we shall see that by preventing one danger he prepared the way for another, which sooner or later, could not but arise. The constitution of Lycurgus contained a happy mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. Theopompus added to these an oligarchy,[n] which in our time has become tyrannical.[o]

Let us now cast a rapid glance over the different parts of this government, such as they are found at present, and not as they formerly were, for they have almost all undergone several changes.[p]

The two kings must be of the house of Hercules, and cannot marry a foreign woman.[q] The ephori watch over the conduct of the queens, that they may not give children to the state that are not the offspring of that august house.[r] If they are convicted or strongly suspected, of infidelity to their husbands,

[l] Aristot. lib. 5. c. 11. t. ii. p. 407. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 43. Id. ad Princip. inerud. t. ii. p. 779. Val. Max. lib. 4. c. 1. in extern. No. 8. Dion. Chrysost. Orat. 36. p. 565. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 3. c. 7. t. iii. p. 164. * See note I. at the end of the volume. [m] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. p. 692. Aristot. lib. 5. c. 11. t. ii. p. 407. [n] Archyt. ap. Stob. p. 269. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 6. p. 321. [o] Plat. de Leg. lib. 4. p. 712. [p] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 690. [q] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 800. [r] Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 121.

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their children are degraded to the class of private persons.[s]

In each of the two reigning branches the crown descends to the eldest of the sons, or, if there are no sons, to the brother of the king.[t] If the eldest dies before his father, it passes to the next son; but if he leaves a son, that son is preferred to his uncles.[u] In default of the nearer heirs in a family, distant relations are called to the throne, and never persons of another house.[x]

All differences concerning the succession are discussed and terminated in the general assembly.[y] When a king has no children by a first wife, he must divorce her.[z] Anaxandrides had married the daughter of his sister, whom he tenderly loved. Some years after, the ephori cited him before their tribunal, and said to him: It is our duty not to suffer the royal families to become extinct; repudiate your wife, and make choice of another who may give us an heir to the throne. On the refusal of the king, after having deliberated on the matter with the senators, they thus addressed him: Follow our advice, and do not force the Spartans to have recourse to violent measures. Without dissolving bands which are too dear to your heart, enter into

[s] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 63. Pausan. lib. 3. c. 4. p. 212. Id. ibid. c. 8. p. 224. [t] Herodot. lib. 5. c. 42. Xen. Hist. Græc. lib .3. p. 493. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 40. Id. in Agesil. p. 596. [u] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 796. [x] Nep. in Ages. c. 1. [y] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 493. Id. in Ages. p. 652. Pausan. lib. 3. c. 8. p. 224. [z] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 68.

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new ones which may be favourable to our wishes. Nothing could be more contrary to the laws of Sparta, nevertheless Anaxandrides obeyed. He married a second wife, by whom he had a son; but his affections were always fixed on the first, who some time after brought forth the celebrated Leonidas.[a]

The presumptive heir is not brought up with the other children of the state.[b] A fear is entertained lest too much familiarity should prejudice that respect they will one day owe to him. His education, however, is not the less carefully attended to. He is impressed with a just idea of his dignity, and one still more just of his duties. A Spartan once said to Cleomenes: "A king ought to be affable." "No doubt," replied that prince, "provided he does not expose himself to contempt."[c] Another king of Lacedæmon said to his relations, who pressed him to commit an act of injustice: "By teaching me that the laws are more binding on the sovereign than the other citizens, you have taught me to disobey you on this occasion."[d]

Lycurgus has limited the authority of the kings, but he has left them honours and prerogatives which they enjoy as the heads of religion, the administration, and the army. Besides certain priesthoods, which they exercise themselves,[e] they regulate every thing

[a] Herodot. lib. 5. c. 39. Pausan. lib. 3. p. 211. [b] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 596. [c] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 223. [d] Isocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 431. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 216. [e] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 56.

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which concerns the public worship, and appear at the head of the religious ceremonies.[z] To enable them to address their vows to heaven, either as individuals, or in behalf of the republic,[a] the state assigns them, on the first and seventh day of every month, a victim, with a certain quantity of wine and barley meal.[b] Both have a right to be attended by magistrates or augurs, who are never to leave them, and who are called Pythians. The sovereign, in cases of necessity, sends them to consult the pythia, and carefully preserves the oracles they bring back.[c] This privilege is perhaps one of the most important in the possession of royalty, as it enables those who are invested with it to maintain a secret correspondence with the priests of Delphi, the authors of those oracles which often decide the fate of an empire.

As head of the state he may, when he ascends the throne, annul the debts which a citizen has contracted either with his predecessor or with the republic.[d] * The people assign to him, for himself, certain portions of inheritances,[e] which he may dispose of during his life in favour of his relations.[f]

The two kings preside in the senate, and propose the subjects for deliberation.[g] Each gives his suffrage,

[z] Id. ibid. c. 57. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3. c. 14. t. ii. p. 356. Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Roman. lib. 2. t. i. p. 264. [a] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 493. [b] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 55. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 690. [c] Herod. ibid. Xen. ibid. [d] Herod. lib. 6. c. 59. * This was also the custom in Persia. (Herod. ibid.) [e] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 690. [f] Id. in Agesil. p. 665. [g] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 57. Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2. t. i. p. 264.

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or, in case of absence, sends it by a senator who is related to him.[h] This suffrage is equivalent to two.[i] All causes brought before the general assembly are decided by the majority of votes.[k] When the two kings propose in concert any project of manifest utility to the republic, no person is permitted to oppose it.[l] The liberty of the state has nothing to fear from such an unanimity, since, besides the secret jealousy which exists between the two royal families,[m] it is rare that their heads possess the same degree of knowledge to discern the true interests of the state, or the same degree of courage to defend them. All causes relative to the maintenance of the highways, the formalities of adoption, or the choice of the kinsman who shall be obliged to marry an orphan heiress, are submitted to the decision of the kings.[n]

The kings must not be absent during peace,[o] nor both at once in time of war;[p] except there be two armies in the field. They have by right the command of the army,[q] and Lycurgus has wished them to appear there with that splendour and authority which may ensure them respect and obedience.

On the day of his departure for the army, the king offers a sacrifice to Jupiter. A young man takes a flaming brand from the altar, and carries it,

[h] Horodot. lib. 6. c. 57. [i] Thucyd. lib. 1. 6. 20. Schol. ibid. Lucian. in Harmon. c. 3. t. i. p. 855. Meurs. de Regn. Lacon. c. 23. [k] Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2. t. i. p. 264. [l] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 800. [m] Id. Apophth. Lacon. p. 215. [n] Herod. lib. 6. c. 57. [o] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 800. [p] Herod. lib. 5. c. 75. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. p. 562. [q] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 690. Arist. de Rep. lib. 3. c. 14. t. ii. p. 356.

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at the head of the troops, to the frontiers of the state, where a new sacrifice is offered.[z]

The state provides for the maintenance of the general and his household, consisting, besides his usual guard, of the two pythians or augurs of whom I have spoken above, the polemarchs, or principal officers, with whom he may advise on every emergency, and three subaltern officers, who attend on his person.[a] Thus freed from every domestic care, he is at liberty to give his whole attention to the operations of the campaign. These it appertains to him to direct, as also to sign truces with the enemy,[b] and to give audience to and answer the embassadors of foreign powers.[c] The two ephori who accompany him have no other function than to prevent any corruption of manners, and never interfere in any affairs, except such as he thinks proper to communicate to them.[d]

In these modern times the general has sometimes been suspected of having conspired against the liberty of his country, either by suffering himself to be corrupted by bribes, or misled by evil counsels.[e] These crimes have been punished, according to the circumstances, by very heavy fines, by banishment, or even by the loss of the crown and of life. Among the princes who have been thus accused, one was

[z] Pen. de Rep. Laced. p. 688. [a] Id. ibid. [b] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 60. [c] Xenoph. ibid. p. 689. [d] Id. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 477 et 478. Id. de Rep. Laced. p. 688. [e] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 82. Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 132. Pausan. lib. 3. c. 7. p. 221.

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obliged to fly, and take refuge in a temple;[f] another asked forgiveness of the assembly, who granted him a pardon, but on condition that for the future he should conduct himself by the advice of ten Spartans, who should follow him to the army, and who should be appointed by the assembly.[g] As the confidence between the sovereign and the other magistrates becomes less from day to day, he will soon be only surrounded in his expeditions by spies and informers chosen from among his enemies.[h]

During peace, the kings are only the first citizens of a free city. As citizens they appear in public without a retinue, and without ostentation; as first citizens they are honoured with the first place, and every person rises in their presence, except the ephori sitting in their tribunal.[i] When they cannot be present at the public repasts, a measure of wine and meal[k] is sent them; but they do not receive these when they are absent without necessity.[l]

In these repasts, as well as in those which they are allowed to take at the houses of private persons, they receive a double portion, which they share with their friends.[m] These minute circumstances are by no means indifferent. Distinctions are every where only signs of convention, suited to times and places.

[f] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 21; lib. 5. c. 16. Pausan. lib. 3. c. 7. p. 221. [g] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 63. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 126. [h] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 9. t. ii. p. 331. [i] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. page 690. Heracl. Pont. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 217. [k] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 57. [l] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46. [m] Herodot. ibid. Xen. in Ages. p. 665.

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Those that are granted to the kings of Lacedæmon, procure them no less respect from the people than if they were attended by the numerous army which composes the guard of the king of Persia.

Royalty has always subsisted at Lacedæmon, 1st, because being divided between two families, the ambition of the one is soon repressed by the jealousy of the other, as well as by the watchful cares of the magistrates: 2dly, because the kings having never attempted to extend their prerogative, have never given any umbrage to the people.[n] This moderation has secured to them the love of their subjects during their lives,[o] and their regret after their death. As soon as one of the kings has breathed his last, women run through the streets, and make known the public misfortune by striking on vessels of brass.[p] The forum is covered with straw, and nothing is allowed to be sold there during three days.[q] Men on horseback are sent out to carry the news into the country, and to give notice to those freemen or slaves who are to attend the funeral, and who throng to it by thousands. They cut and mangle their faces, and repeatedly exclaim, amid their long lamentations, that, "among all the princes that ever lived a better never existed."[r] Yet do these wretches regard as a tyrant him whose death they are thus obliged to

[n] Xen. in Ages. p. 651. [o] Isocr. Orat. ad Philip. t. i. p. 269. Id. de Pace, p. 431. [p] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 58. Schol. Theocr. in Idyl. 2. v. 36. [q] Heracl. Pont. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823. [r] Herodot. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. c. 1. Pausan. lib. 4. c. 14. p. 313.

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lament. The Spartans are not ignorant of this, but, compelled by a law of Lycurgus[s] to refrain on this occasion from tears and lamentations, they have been desirous that the feigned grief of their slaves and subjects might, in some measure, express the real sorrow which they themselves feel.

When the king dies on a military expedition, his effigy is exposed on a bed of state, and, during ten days, it is not permitted either to convene the general assembly, or to open the tribunals of justice.[t] When the body, which care is taken to preserve in honey or wax,[u] arrives, it is buried in the quarter of the city in which are the tombs of the kings.[x]

The senate, consisting of the two kings and the twenty-eight gerontes, or aged men,[y] is the supreme council,[z] in which are discussed, in the first instance, all questions relative to declaring war, concluding peace, entering into alliances, and other high and important affairs of state.

To obtain a place in this august assembly is to ascend the throne of honour. This dignity is never granted but to the citizen who, from his earliest youth, has been distinguished for consummate prudence and eminent virtues.[a] He cannot arrive at it until he is of the age of sixty years,[b] and he retains

[s] Plut. Institut. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238. [t] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 58. [u] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 564. Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 618. [x] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 12. p. 237. Id. ibid. cap. 14. p. 240. [y] Crag. de Rep. Laced. lib. 2. c. 3. [z] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 11. p. 231. [a] Demosth. in Leptin. p. 556. Ulpian. ibid. p. 589. Æschin. in Timarch. p. 288. [b] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 55.

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it to his death.[c] No fear is entertained of any decay of his rational faculties; since from the regular kind of life led at Sparta, both the mind and body are there less enfeebled by age than in other countries.

When a senator dies, several candidates offer themselves to succeed him, and they must openly declare their wish to obtain this honour. Lycurgus then intended to favour and promote ambition?[d] Yes, that ambition which, as a reward for services rendered to the country, ardently solicits to be permitted to render it still more.

The election takes place in the forum,[e] in which the people are assembled, with the kings, senators, and the different classes of magistrates. Each candidate appears in the order assigned by lot.[f] He walks through the forum, with his eyes fixed on the ground, and in profound silence. As he passes, he is honoured with shouts of approbation, more or less numerous, and more or less frequent. These shouts are heard by persons concealed in a neighbouring house, from which they can see nothing, and whose business it is to observe the difference of the successive plaudits, and afterwards to declare that, at such a time, the wish of the public was manifested by the most lively and continued marks of approbation.

After this combat, in which virtue only yields to virtue, begins a kind of triumphal procession. The victor is conducted through all the quarters of the

[c] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 330. Polyb. lib. 6. p. 489. [d] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 9. t. ii. p. 331. [e] Id. ibid. lib. 4. c. 9. p. 374. [f] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 55.

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city, with his head bound with a garland, and followed by a number of boys and maidens, who celebrate his virtues and his victory. He repairs to the temples, where he offers incense, and to the houses of his relations, where cakes and flowers are spread on a table. "Take," say they, "these presents, with which the state honours you, by our hands." In the evening all the women who are related to him assemble at the door of the hall in which he takes his repast. He causes her whom he most esteems to approach, and presenting to her one of the two portions which have been served up to him: "On you," says he, "I bestow the honourable reward I have just received." All the other women applaud his choice, and conduct home her whom he has thus distinguished with the most flattering marks of respect.[g]

From that moment the new senator is obliged to dedicate the rest of his days to the functions of his office. Of these some respect the state, and have been pointed out above; others concern certain particular cases, the judgment of which is reserved to the senate. On this tribunal depend not only the lives of the citizens, but also their fortune;[h] I mean their honour, for the true Spartan knows no other possession.

Several days are employed in the investigation of crimes which are punished with death, because an error on these occasions cannot be repaired. The accused is never condemned on simple presumptions;

[g] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 56. [h] Id. ibid. p. 55.

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but though acquitted, he is again prosecuted with rigour, if new proofs are afterwards obtained against him.[i]

The senate has a right of inflicting a kind of stigma which deprives the citizen of a part of his privileges; and hence, in the presence of the senator, the respect claimed by the virtuous man is mingled with the salutary fear inspired by the judge.[k]

When a king is accused of having violated the laws, or betrayed the interests of the state, the tribunal which must acquit or condemn him is composed of the twenty-eight senators, the five ephori, and the king of the other family.[l] He may however appeal from them to the general assembly of the people.[m]

The ephori, or inspectors, so named because they extend their care over every part of the administration,[n] are five in number,[o] and changed every year, to prevent their abusing their authority.[p] They enter on their office at the beginning of the year, which is fixed at the new moon that follows the autumnal equinox.[q] The first of them gives his name to that year;[r] and thus, to assign the date of any event, it suffices to say that it happened under such an ephorus.

[i] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 132. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. p. 217. [k] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 288. [l] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 5. p. 215. [m] Plut. in Agid. t. ii. p. 804. Crag. de Rep. Laced. lib. 4. c. 8. [n] Suid. in Ἔφορ. Schol. Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 86. [o] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 20. t. ii. p. 332. Pausan. lib. 3. c. 11. p. 231. [p] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 36. Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 597. [q] Dodwell, de Cycl. Dissert. 8. § 5. p. 320. Id. in Annal. Thucyd. p. 168. [r] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 11. p. 232.

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The people possess the right of electing these magistrates from among the citizens of every rank,[s] whom, as soon as they are invested with their dignity, they consider as their defenders, and therefore have never failed, on every occasion, to enlarge their prerogatives.

I have already intimated that the office of the ephori did not enter into the plan of the constitution of Lycurgus: it only appears that, about a century and a half after his time, the kings of Lacedæmon divested themselves of several prerogatives in its favour, and that its power was afterwards increased by a chief of this tribunal named Asteropus.[t] Successively enriched by the spoils of the senate and of royalty, it now unites in itself the most eminent privileges; such as the administration of justice, the maintenance of manners and the laws, the inspection of the other magistrates, and the execution of the decrees of the general assembly.

The tribunal of the ephori is held in the forum.[u] Those magistrates repair thither every day to pronounce judgment on certain accusations, and to terminate the differences of individuals.[x] This important function was formerly exercised only by the kings;[y] but during the first war of Messenia, when they were frequently obliged to be absent, they delegated it to the ephori.[z] They have, however, always

[s] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 9. t. ii. p. 330; lib. 4. c. 9. p. 374.
[t] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 808. [u] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 11. p. 231.
[x] Plut. ibid. t. i. p. 807. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 221.
[y] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 3. p. 209. [z] Plut. ibid. p. 808.

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preserved their right to be present, and to give their suffrages.[a]

As the Lacedæmonians have only a small number of laws, and vices before unknown are every day making their appearance among them, the judges are frequently obliged to determine according to the dictates of their own understanding; and as, in our times, several persons of no great knowledge and abilities have been advanced to this dignity, there is frequently reason to doubt of the equity of their decisions.[b]

The ephori take an extreme care of the education of youth. They every day examine personally whether the children of the state are not brought up with too much delicacy.[c] They choose for them leaders who may excite their emulation,[d] and appear at their head in a military and religious festival which is celebrated in honour of Minerva.[e]

Other magistrates watch over the conduct of the women.[f] The authority of the ephori extends to all the citizens. Whatever may, in the remotest manner, be prejudicial to public order, or received usages, is subject to their censure. They have often been known to prosecute persons who have neglected their duties,[g] or tamely suffered themselves to be insulted;[h] they reproached the former with having forgotten the

[a] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 63. [b] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 9. p. 330. [c] Agatharch. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 550. [d] Xenoph. de Rep. Lac. p. 679. [e] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 303. [f] Hesych. in Ἁρμός. [g] Schol. Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 84. [h] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

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respect due to the laws, and the latter with having disregarded that which they owed to themselves.

More than once they have punished the abuse which foreigners, whom they have admitted to their games, have made of their talents. An orator once offered to discourse a whole day on any subject that should be assigned him. For this they banished him from the city.[i] Archilocus underwent the same punishment for having admitted into his writings a maxim that encouraged cowardice; and almost in our own time, the musician Timotheus, having delighted the Spartans with the harmony of his airs, one of the ephori came to him holding a knife in his hand, and thus addressed him: "We have condemned you to have four strings cut from your lyre; tell me from which side you would choose to have them taken?"[k]

We may judge by these examples of the severity with which this tribunal formerly punished those faults which immediately attacked the laws and manners. Even at this day, when corruption is beginning to become general, it is no less formidable, though less respected; and those individuals who have lost their ancient principles, neglect nothing that may conceal them from the eye of these censors, who are the more severe to others as they are sometimes more indulgent to themselves.[l]

To compel the greater part of the magistrates to give an account of their administration,[m] to suspend

[i] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 238.
[l] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 9. t. ii. p. 330.
[m] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 9. t. ii. p. 330.

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from their functions those among them who have transgressed the laws, to throw them into prison, to accuse them before a superior tribunal, and to prosecute them to capital conviction, are the exclusive privileges of the ephori.[n] They exercise them in part against the kings, whom they keep in dependence on themselves, by an extraordinary and whimsical custom. Every nine years, they choose a night in which the weather is calm and serene, and seating themselves in an open plain, observe the motion of the stars. If any fiery exhalation should shoot through the air, it is a star that has changed its place, and indicates that the kings have offended the gods. A public prosecution is commenced against them, they are deposed, and cannot be restored to their authority till they are absolved from their supposed crimes by the oracle of Delphi.[o]

The sovereign, when strongly suspected of a crime against the state, may indeed refuse to appear before the ephori at the two first summonses, but he must obey the third.[p] They may besides secure his person,[q] and bring him to trial. When his offence is less serious, they may themselves inflict the punishment. The last instance of this kind was, when they condemned king Agesilaus to pay a fine because he had sent a present to every senator at his entrance into office.[r]

[n] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 683. [o] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 800. [p] Id. in Ages. t. 1. p. 809. [q] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 131. Nep. in Pausan. c. 3. [r] Plut. de Frat. Amor. t. ii. p. 482.

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The executive power is entirely in their hands. They convene the general assembly,[s] and collect its suffrages.[t] We may judge of the power with which they are invested by comparing the decrees which originate in this assembly with the sentences they pronounce in their own tribunal. In the latter the judgment is preceded by this form of expression: "It has seemed good to the kings and to the ephori;[u]" and in the former by this: "It has seemed good to the ephori and the assembly.[x]"

To them the ambassadors of nations at war or in alliance with the state address themselves:[y] they are charged with the care of levying troops and sending them to the place of their destination;[z] they expedite orders to the general of the army, which he is to follow;[a] they appoint two of their number to accompany him and watch over his conduct,[b] sometimes interrupt his progress in the middle of his conquests, and recal him, according as their personal interest or that of the state seems to require.[c]

So many prerogatives obtain them a respect, which they justify by the honours they have decreed to illustrious actions,[d] by their attachment to ancient

[s] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 460. [t] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 87. [u] Boeth. de Mus. lib. 1. c. 1. Not. Bulliald. in Theon. Smyrn. p. 295. [x] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 491. [y] Id. ibid. lib. 2. p. 459 et 460. Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 801. [z] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 503; lib. 5. p. 556, 566, 568, 574, &c. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. p. 215. [a] Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 479. [b] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 478. [c] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 131. Xen. in Ages. p. 657. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. p. 211. [d] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 615.

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maxims,[e] and by the firmness with which, in our times, they have defeated the plots that threatened the public tranquillity.[f]

They have, during a long series of years, combated against the authority of the senators and kings, and never ceased to be their enemies till they became their protectors. These attempts and innovations would, in other countries, have occasioned torrents of blood to be poured forth. By what chance is it that in Sparta they have only produced some slight fermentations! Because the ephori promised the people liberty, while their rivals, no less poor than the people, were unable to promise them riches; because the spirit of the union, introduced by the laws of Lycurgus, has so prevailed over all private considerations, that the ancient magistrates, emulous of giving great examples of obedience, have always thought it their duty to sacrifice their privileges to the claims of the ephori.[g]

By a consequence of this spirit, the people have not ceased to respect those kings and senators whom they have deprived of their power. An august ceremony, which is repeated monthly, continually reminds them of their duty. The kings, in their own name, and the ephori, in the name of the people, engage, by a solemn oath, the former to govern according to the laws, and the latter to defend the royal authority so long as it shall not violate the laws.[h]

[e] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 496. [f] Id. ibid. p. 494.
[g] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 683. [h] Id. ibid. p. 690.

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The Spartans have interests which are peculiar to themselves; they have also others which are common to them with the deputies of the different cities of Laconia. Hence there are two kinds of assemblies, at which are always present the kings, the senate, and the different classes of the magistrates. When the succession to the throne is to be regulated, when magistrates are to be chosen or deposed, when sentence is to be pronounced on public crimes, or the great objects of religion or legislature to be decided on, the assembly is only composed of Spartans, and is called the lesser assembly.[i]

The ordinary assembly of this kind is held every month, at the full of the moon;[k] the extraordinary, whenever circumstances require. Its deliberations must be preceded by a decree of the senate,[l] except the equal division of voices has prevented that body from coming to any conclusion, in which case the ephori lay the question before the assembly.[m]

Every one present has a right to give his opinion, provided he has passed his thirtieth year, for, before that age, no one is permitted to speak in public.[n] His manners also must be irreproachable. The case of an orator who had captivated the people with his eloquence is still remembered. His advice was excellent; but, as it proceeded from an impure mouth, a senator arose, and, after loudly expressing

[i] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 494. [k] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 16. Schol. ibid. [l] Plut. in Lycurg. t. 1. p. 40. Id. in Agid. p. 798 et 800. [m] Plut. in Agid. t. ii. p. 799. [n] Argum. in Declam. 24. Liban. t. i. p. 558.

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his indignation against the easy compliance of the assembly, caused the same measures to be proposed by a virtuous man. Let it not be said, added he, that the Lacedæmonians suffered thenselves to be guided by the counsel of an infamous orator.[o]

The general assembly is convoked whenever the question relates to making war or peace, or contracting alliances. The deputies of the cities of Laconia are then admitted to it;[p] as are also, frequently, those of the allied states,[q] and of the nations who come to implore the succour of Lacedæmon.[r] In it are discussed their claims and mutual complaints, the infractions of the treaties committed by the other states, the modes of reconciliation, the projects of the future campaign, and the contributions to be furnished. The kings and senators frequently speak, and their authority is of great weight; but that of the ephori is of still greater. When the question has been sufficiently debated, one of the ephori asks the opinion of the assembly. Immediately a thousand voices loudly exclaim either for the affirmative or the negative. When, after repeated trials, it is impossible to distinguish which has the majority, the same magistrate ascertains it by numbering the two parties, which he causes to divide, one on the one side, and the other on the other.[s]

[o] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 288. Plut. de Andit. t. ii. p. 41. [p] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 579. [q] Id. ibid. lib. 5. p. 554, 556, 558, 590. [r] Id. ibid. p. 554; lib. 6. p. 579. [s] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 87.

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CHAPTER XLVI.

Of the Laws of Lacedæmon.

NATURE is almost always in opposition to the laws, because she labours only for the happiness of the individual, without regard to the other individuals who surround him; while the laws only direct their attention to the relations by which he is united to them; and because she infinitely diversifies our characters and inclinations, while it is the object of the laws to bring them back to unity. The legislator, therefore, whose aim it is to annihilate, or at least to reconcile these contrarieties, must consider morals as the most powerful spring, and most essential part, of his political institutions. He must take the work of Nature almost at the first moment she has produced it, retouch its form and proportions, and soften without entirely effacing its great outlines; till at length he has converted the independent man into the free citizen.

That men of enlightened minds may formerly have been able to unite savages scattered through woods and forests, and that every day, sage preceptors may, in some measure, fashion at will the characters and dispositions of children committed to their care, is not

[t] Demosth. in Aristog. p. 830.

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difficult to be conceived; but how powerful must have been that genius who could new-model a nation already formed! What courage must he not have displayed who could dare to say to a people, I will restrain your wants to the indispensable demands of necessity, and exact from your passions the most severe mortifications; you shall no longer know the allurements of pleasure, but exchange the softer enjoyments of life for laborious and painful exercises. I will deprive some of you of your possessions to distribute them to others, and the poor shall be raised to an equality with the rich. You shall renounce your ideas, your tastes, your habits, your claims, and even those tender and precious sentiments which Nature has profoundly engraven on your hearts!

Yet this, nevertheless, is what Lycurgus effected, by regulations which differ so essentially from those of other nations, that the traveller, on his arrival at Lacedæmon, is ready to imagine himself transported into a new world. Their singularity invites him to reflect, and he is soon lost in admiration at that profundity of views, and elevation of sentiment, that shines conspicuous in the work of Lycurgus.

This legislator ordained that the magistrates should not be appointed by lot, but elected by suffrages.[u] He deprived riches of the influence and respect annexed to them,[x] and divested even love of jealousy.[y] Though he granted some distinctions, the

[u] Isocr. Panathen. t. ii. p. 261. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 9. t. ii. p. 374. [x] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239. [y] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49.

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government, which had deeply imbibed his spirit, never prodigally lavished them, and virtuous men dared not solicit them. Honour became the most valuable reward, and opprobrium the most cruel punishment. Death was sometimes inflicted, but such a sentence must be preceded by a careful and vigorous examination, since nothing is so precious as the life of a citizen.[z] Execution was performed in the prison, and during the night,[a] that the firmness of the criminal might not move the commiseration of the people; and his life was taken away by the cord,[b] for it appeared useless to multiply his sufferings.

I shall point out, as I proceed, the greater part of the regulations of Lycurgus; I here mean to speak of the division of the lands. The proposition which he made to this purpose met with great opposition; but, after the most violent contests, the district of Sparta was divided into nine thousand portions of land,* and the rest of Laconia into thirty thousand. Each portion assigned to a head of a family must produce, besides a certain quantity of wine and oil, seventy measures of barley for himself, and twelve for his wife.[c]

After having effected this, Lycurgus thought it advisable to absent himself, and give time for the passions of the people to subside and cool. On his return, he found the fields of Laconia covered with

[z] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 132. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 217. [a] Herodot. lib. 4. c. 146. Val. Max. lib. 4. c. 6. [b] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 803 et 804. * See Note II. at the end of the Volume. [c] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 44.

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clusters of sheaves, all of the same size, and placed at distances nearly equal. He seemed to himself to behold a large domain, the productions of which had been divided among brethren; while the Lacedæmonians believed they saw in him a father who had manifested no more fondness for one than for the rest of his children.[d]

But how may this equality of property be preserved? Before Lycurgus, the legislator of Crete had not ventured to establish it: since he permitted acquisitions.[e] After Lycurgus, Phaleas at Chalcedon,[f] Philolaus at Thebes,[g] Plato,[h] and other legislators and philosophers, have proposed different ineffectual methods of solving this problem. It was given to Lycurgus to attempt the most extraordinary and reconcile the most opposite things. In fact, by one of his laws, he has regulated the number of inheritances by the number of citizens;[h*] and by another, in which he has granted certain exemptions to those who have three children, and still greater to those who have four,[i] he has risked destroying the proportion he wished to establish, and restoring the distinction between the rich and the poor that he proposed to destroy.

When I was at Sparta, the regularity of the pos-

[d] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 44. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 226. Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 4. § 3. p. 300. [e] Polyb. lib. 6. p. 489. [f] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 322. [g] Id. ibid. c. 12. p. 337. [h] Plat. de Leg. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 740. [h*] Polyb. lib. 6. p. 489. [i] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 6. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 330. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. c. 6.

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sessions of individuals had been deranged by a decree of the ephorus Epitades, who wished to avenge himself of his son;[k] and as I neglected to inform myself of their ancient state, I shall only be able to explain the views of the legislator on this subject, by recurring to his principles.

According to the laws of Lycurgus, the head of a family could neither buy nor sell a portion of land;[l] he could neither give it during his life, nor bequeath it by will, to whom he pleased.[m] He was not even permitted to divide it.[n] The eldest of his children was entitled to the inheritance,[o] in the same manner as in the royal family the eldest son succeeded by right to the crown.[p] What provision then was made for the other children? Did the laws which ensured their subsistence during the life of their father, entirely abandon them after his death?

1st, It appears that they might inherit slaves, the savings of their father, and moveables of every kind. The produce of the sale of these effects was doubtless sufficient to supply them with clothing, for the cloth which they wore was of so low a price that the poorest persons were able to procure it.[q] 2d, Each citizen had a right to partake of the public repasts, and furnished for his contingent a certain quantity of barley-meal which may be estimated at about

[k] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 797. [l] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. p. 329. [m] Plut. ibid. [n] Heracl. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823. [o] Emm. Descript. Reip. Lacon. in Antiq. Græc. t. iv. p. 483. [p] Herodot. lib. 5. c. 42, &c. [q] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 374. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 682.

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twelve medimni. But the Spartan who possessed one of the portions of land derived from it every year seventy medimni, and his wife twelve. The surplus of the husband was then sufficient for the maintenance of five children; but Lycurgus could not suppose that every father of a family would have so many. We may therefore presume that the eldest son was to provide for the wants not only of his children but of his brothers. 3d, It is not improbable that the younger sons only could espouse the daughters, who, in default of male issue, inherited a portion of land; for without this precaution the inheritances would have accumulated in one person. 4th, After the examination which followed the birth of children, the magistrates assigned them portions of land,[r] become vacant by the extinction of some families. 5th, In these modern times, frequent wars have destroyed a great number of the Spartans, and in former ages they planted colonies in distant countries. 6th, The settlement of daughters cost nothing, as it was forbidden to give them any marriage portion.[s] 7th, The spirit of union and disinterestedness rendering, in some measure, all things common among the citizens,[t] the one class had often no other advantage over the other, than that of preventing and gratifying their desires.

While this spirit remained undiminished, the

[r] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49. [s] Justin. lib. 3. c. 3. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 227. [t] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 679. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 5. p. 317. Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238.

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constitution was proof against those shocks which it now begins to feel. But what shall hereafter support it, since, by the decree of which I have spoken, every citizen is permitted to give portions to his daughters, and to dispose at pleasure of his share of the lands? The inheritances pass every day into different hands, and the equilibrium of fortunes, as well as that of equality, is entirely destroyed.

I return to the regulations of Lycurgus. The lands, as well as the persons of the Spartans, were to be free from all impositions. The state had no treasure.[u] On certain occasions the citizens contributed according to their abilities,[x] and on others, had recourse to means which evince their excessive poverty. The deputies of Samos once came to Lacedæmon to solicit the loan of a sum of money. The assembly of the people, having no other resource, ordered a general fast to be observed by the free citizens, slaves, and domestic animals, and gave the sum they had thus saved to the Samians.[y]

Every thing bowed before the genius of Lycurgus. The desire of exclusive property began to disappear, and violent passions no longer disturbed the public order. But this calm would only be an additional evil if the legislator were unable to ensure its duration. The laws alone could not produce this great effect. If the citizens accustom themselves to contemn those regulations which are the least important,

[u] Archid. ap. Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 80. Pericl. ap. eund. lib. 1. c. 141. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 217. [x] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 9. t. ii. p. 331. [y] Id. de Curâ Rei Fam. t. ii. p. 503.

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they will soon proceed to neglect those which are of the greatest consequence. If the laws are too numerous; if they are silent in many cases, and in others speak with the obscurity of oracles; if every judge be permitted to interpret their sense, and every citizen to complain of them; if, even on the most trivial points, they add to the constraint on our liberty the degrading tone of menace; in vain may they be engraven on marble, they can never be imprinted on the heart.

Lycurgus, attentive to the irresistible power of the impressions which man receives in his infancy, and during his whole life, had been long confirmed in the choice of a system which had been approved by experience in Crete. Let all the children be educated in common, in the same discipline, and in the same invariable principles, under the eyes of the magistrates and the whole people. They will learn their duties by practising them, and will afterwards love because they have practised them, and will never cease to revere them, since they see them practised by all around them. These customs, the longer they subsist, will receive an invincible strength from their antiquity and universality. An uninterrupted succession of examples given and received will render each citizen the legislator of his neighbour, to whom he will be a living rule.[z] He will acquire the merit of obedience by yielding to

[z] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 47.

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the force of habit, and will imagine himself to act freely since he acts without an effort.

It will therefore be sufficient for the institutor of a nation to frame a small number of laws[a] for each part of the administration, which will dispense from the desire of a greater number, and contribute to maintain the authority of rights and usages, much more powerful than that of the laws themselves. He will forbid them to be committed to writing,[b] that they may not set bounds to virtues, and lest the people, imagining they have done all their duty requires, should desist, and not do all they are able to perform. But he will not conceal them: they shall be transmitted from mouth to mouth, cited on all occasions, and known to all the citizens, the witnesses and judges of each individual. It shall not be permitted to youth to censure them, nor even to submit them to examination,[c] since they have been received as the commands of Heaven, and since the authority of the law is only founded on the profound veneration they inspire. Neither shall it be allowed to praise the laws and usages of foreign nations,[d] since, unless the people are persuaded they live under the best of legislations, they will quickly desire a new one.

Let us not, therefore, be astonished that obedience is with the Spartans the first of virtues;[e] or

[a] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 232. [b] Id. ibid. p. 227. Id. in Lycurg. ib. [c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 634. [d] Demosth. in Leptin. p. 556. [e] Isocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 53. Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 682.

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that those haughty people never come, with the text of the law in their hands, to demand of their magistrates an account of the sentences they have pronounced in their tribunals.

Neither ought it to excite our surprise that Lycurgus has considered education as the most important object of the care of the legislator;[f] and that to establish an authority over the hearts and minds of the Spartans, he has early subjected them to the arduous exercises and discipline of which I shall next proceed to treat.

[f] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 47.

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CHAPTER XLVII.

On the Education and Marriage of the Spartans.

THE laws of Sparta watch with an extreme care over the education of children.[g] They ordain that it shall be public, and common to the rich and to the poor.[h] They anticipate the moment of their birth. When any woman has declared her pregnancy, pictures of youth and beauty, such as those of Apollo, Narcissus, Hyacinth, Castor, and Pollux, are hung in her apartment, in order that her imagination, incessantly impressed by these objects, may transmit some traces of them to the child she bears in her womb.[i]

Scarcely is the infant born, when he is presented to the assembly of the most aged persons of the tribe to which his family belongs. The nurse is called, who, instead of water, washes him with wine, as the former, it is pretended, would have very ill effects on weak constitutions. After this trial, which is followed by a rigorous examination, his sentence is pronounced; and if it is not judged expedient, either for himself or the republic, that he should long enjoy life, he is cast into a gulf near Mount Taygetus. If he appears healthy and well formed, he is chosen, in the name of his country, to be hereafter one of her defenders.[k]

[g] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 1. t. ii. p. 450. [h] Id. ibid. lib. 4. c. 9. p. 374. [i] Oppian. de Venat. lib. 1. v. 357. [k] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49.

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When brought back to the house, he is laid on a buckler, and near this military cradle is placed a spear, that this weapon may be one of the first objects that become familiar to his eyes.[l]

His delicate limbs are not confined with bands that prevent their motions: no care is taken to stop his tears, when it is necessary they should flow, but they are never excited by menaces and blows. He is accustomed by degrees to solitude, darkness, and the greatest indifference in the choice of eatables.[m] He is alike a stranger to impressions of terror, useless restraints, and unjust reproaches. Continually occupied in innocent sports, he enjoys all the sweets of life, and his happiness hastens the expansion of the powers of his body and the faculties of his mind.

At the age of seven years, at which he arrives without having known servile fear, domestic education commonly ends.[n] The father is asked if he is willing his child should be educated according to the laws. If he refuses, he is himself deprived of the rights of a citizen:[o] if he consents, the child will for the future have for his guardians not only his parents but also the laws, the magistrates, and all the citizens, who are authorised to interrogate, to advise, and to chastise him, without fear of being accused of severity, since they would themselves be punished if, when they were witnesses of his faults, they had the weakness to spare him.[p] At the head of the children is placed

[l] Non. Dionys. lib. 41. p. 1062. Schol. Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 39. [m] Plut. in Lycurg. p. 49. [n] Id. ibid. t. 1. p. 50. [o] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. i. p. 238. [p] Id. ibid. p. 237.

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one of the most respectable men of the republic.[q] He distributes them into different classes, over each of which presides a young chief distinguished by his sense and courage. They must submit without a murmur to the orders they receive from him, and the chastisements he imposes on them, which are inflicted with rods by young persons arrived at the age of puberty.[r]

The regulations to which they are subjected, become from day to day more rigid. Their hair is cut off, and they walk without stockings or shoes. To accustom them to bear the rigour of the seasons, they are sometimes made to exercise quite naked.[s]

At the age of twelve years they lay aside the tunic, and wear only a cloke, which must last them a whole year.[t] They are rarely permitted the use of baths and perfumes. Each company lies together on the tops of reeds that grow in the river, and which they break off with their hands without employing any iron instrument.[u]

Then it is that they begin to contract those intimate connexions which are little known in other nations, and more pure at Lacedæmon than in the other cities of Greece. It is permitted to each of them to receive the assiduous attentions of a virtuous young man, attracted by the charms of beauty, and the still more powerful charms of virtue, of which beauty ap-

[q] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676. [r] Id. ibid. p. 677. [s] Plut. in Lycurg. p. 50. [t] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 50. Justin. lib. 3. c. 3. [u] Plut. in Lycurg. p. 50.

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pears to be the emblem.[x] The youth of Sparta is thus, as it were, divided into two classes, the one consisting of those who love, and the other of those who are beloved.[y] The first, destined to serve as models to the second, carry even to enthusiasm a sentiment which produces the most noble emulation, and which, with the transports of love, is, in reality, only the passionate tenderness of a father for his son, or the ardent friendship of a brother for his brother.[z] When several feel the divine inspiration, for such is the name they give to their attachment[a] for one object, far from being tormented with jealousy, they are only the more united to each other, and the more ardent in promoting the improvement of him whom they love; for all their ambition is to render him as estimable in the eyes of others as he is in their own.[b] One of the most virtuous of the citizens was condemned to pay a fine for having never attached himself to any young man;[c] and another, because his young friend had, in battle, cried out through fear.[d]

These associations, which have often produced great effects,[e] are common to both sexes,[f] and sometimes only end with life. They had long been established in Crete.[g] Lycurgus knew their value,

[x] Plut. ibid. [y] Theocr. Idyll. 12. v. 12. Schol. ibid. Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. 24. p. 284. [z] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 678. [a] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 678; et in Conviv. p. 873 et 883. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. c. 9. [b] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51. [c] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. c. 10. [d] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51. Ælian. ibid. [e] Plat. Sympos. t. iii. p. 178. [f] Plut. ibid. [g] Heracl. Pont. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2824. Strab. lib. 10. p. 483. Ælian. de Animal. lib. 4. c. 1

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and foresaw the dangers to which they were exposed. But, besides that the least blemish on a union which ought to be sacred, and which almost always is so,[h] would for ever cover the guilty person with infamy,[i] and, even, according to circumstances, be punished with death,[k] the young pupils cannot withdraw themselves for a moment from the sight of the aged persons, who consider it as their duty to be present at and maintain decency in their exercises, nor from the observation of the president-general of education, or that of the Iren, or particular leader of each division.

This Iren is a youth of twenty years of age, who, as a reward for his courage and prudence, receives the honour of being appointed to give lessons to a number of other youths committed to his care.[l] He is at their head when they encounter each other, when they swim over the Eurotas, when they hunt, wrestle, run, or engage in the different exercises of the gymnasium. On their return home, they take a wholesome and frugal meal,[m] which they prepare themselves. The strongest bring the wood, and the weaker herbs, and other provisions, which they have conveyed away by stealth from the gardens, or the halls in which the public repasts are held. If they are discovered, they are sometimes whipped, to which chastisement is often added a prohibition from approaching the

[h] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 678. Plat. ibid. Max. Tyr. Dissert. 26. p. 317. [i] Plut. Inst. Lacon. t. ii. p. 237. [k] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 12. [l] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 50. [m] Id. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 237.

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table.[n] Sometimes they are dragged to an altar, which they must go round, singing verses in ridicule of themselves.[o]

When the supper is over, their young leader orders some of them to sing, and proposes questions to others, from their answers to which a judgment may be formed of their wit or their sentiments; such as: Who is the worthiest man in the city? What do you think of such an action? The reply must be precise, and accompanied with a reason. Those who speak without reflection receive slight chastisements, in presence of the magistrates and aged men, who attend at these conversations, and are sometimes dissatisfied with the sentences of the young leader: but through fear of weakening his authority, they wait till he is alone before they punish him for his indulgence or severity.[p]

The youth of Lacedæmon receive but a slight tincture of literature; but they are taught to express themselves with purity, to perform in the chorusses of dancing and music, to perpetuate in their verses the memory of those who have died for their country, and the shame of those who have betrayed it. In these poems great ideas are expressed with simplicity, and elevated sentiments with an animated warmth.[q]

Every day the ephori attend on their youthful pupils, who, from time to time, go to the ephori, who examine whether their education has been carefully conducted, whether any improper delicacy has been

[n] Id. in Lycurg. ibid. [o] Id. Instit. Lacon. ibid. [p] Plut. in Lycurg. t. 1. p. 51. [q] Id. ibid. p. 53.

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suffered to insinuate itself into their beds or apparel, and whether they are disposed to corpulency.[r] This last article is considered as of great importance: the magistrates of Sparta have been known to cite before the tribunal of the nation, and threaten with banishment, citizens whose excessive corpulence seemed to be a proof of luxurious indolence.[s] A Spartan would blush to have an effeminate countenance. The body, as it increases in size, must acquire suppleness and strength, still preserving its just proportions.[t]

This is the object proposed in subjecting the Spartans to labours which occupy almost every moment of their time. They pass a great part of the day in the gymnasium, where we do not find, as in other cities, those masters who teach their disciples the art of adroitly supplanting an adversary.[u] Here stratagem would disgrace courage, and stain that honour which ought to accompany defeat as well as victory. Hence it is that, in certain exercises, it is not permitted to the Spartan who is overcome to lift his hand as a sign of submission, since that would be to acknowledge a conqueror.[x]

I have often been present at the combats in which the youth who have arrived at the age of eighteen years engage in the platanistas. They prepare themselves for this exercise in their college, situate in the town of Therapne. They are divided into two bodies,

[r] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 14. c. 7. [s] Agatharch. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 550. Ælian. ibid. [t] Ælian. ibid. [u] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 233. [x] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 52. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228. Senec. de Benef. lib. 5. c. 3.

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one of which is distinguished by the name of Hercules, and the other by that of Lycurgus.[y] They jointly sacrifice, during the night, a little dog on the altar of Mars. It has been imagined that the most courageous of domestic animals must be the victim most acceptable to the most courageous of the gods. After the sacrifice, each party brings a tamed wild boar, which they excite and irritate against that of their antagonists, and if he remains conqueror it is deemed a favourable omen.

The next day, about noon, the young warriors advance in order, and by different ways, which are determined by lot, toward the field of battle. At a signal given, they attack each other, and gain and give ground by turns. Presently their ardour gradually increases; they assault each other with their hands and feet, and even make use of their teeth and nails. They continue a disadvantageous contest notwithstanding the most painful wounds, and risk the loss of life rather than submit to a defeat.[z] Their ferocity sometimes even appears to increase as their strength diminishes. One of them, when on the point of throwing his antagonist to the ground, suddenly cried out: "You bite me like a woman." "No," replied the other, "I bite like a lion."[a] The action passes under the eye of five magistrates,[b] who with a word may moderate the fury of the combatants, and a multitude of spectators, who by turns

[y] Lucian. de Gymnas. t. ii. p. 919. [z] Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 5. c. 27. t. ii. p. 383. [a] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 234. [b] Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 231.

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lavish praises on the conquerors, or load the vanquished with sarcasms. It ends when one of the parties is obliged to swim over the Eurotas, or a canal, which, together with that river, encloses the platanistas.[c]

I have seen other combats in which the greatest fortitude contends with the most extreme sufferings. At a festival celebrated every year, in honour of Diana, surnamed Orthia, Spartan youths, scarcely out of their infancy, and chosen from among all the different classes of the people, are brought to the altar, and severely whipped till the blood begins to stream. The priestess of the goddess is present, and holds in her hand a very small and light wooden image of Diana. If the executioners appear moved with compassion, the priestess exclaims that she is no longer able to bear the weight of the statue. The strokes then redouble, and the attention of all present becomes more eager. The parents of the innocent victims exhort them, with frantic cries, not to suffer the smallest complaint to escape them,[d] while they themselves provoke and defy pain. The presence of so many witnesses, who watch their smallest motions, and the hope of victory to be decreed to him who shall suffer with the greatest constancy, so steel them against their pangs, that they endure these horrid tortures with a serene countenance and a joy at which humanity shudders.[e]

[c] Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 243. [d] Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 2. c. 14. t. ii. p. 288. Senec. de Provid. c. 4. Stat. Theb. lib. 8. v. 437. Luctat. ibid: in Not. [e] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. i. p. 239.

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Astonished at their firmness, I said to Dâmonax, who was with me: It must be acknowledged that your laws are faithfully observed. Say rather, replied he, shamefully abused. The ceremony of which you have been a spectator was formerly instituted in honour of a barbarous divinity, whose statue and worship, it is pretended, Orestes brought from Taurica to Lacedæmon.[f] The oracle had commanded that human sacrifices should be offered to this new deity. Lycurgus abolished the horrid custom, but, as an indemnification to superstition, directed that the young Spartans who were condemned to be scourged for their faults, should undergo their punishment at the altar of the goddess.[g]

The express terms and spirit of the law should have been adhered to. A slight chastisement was all that was intended;[h] but our senseless applauses excite, both here and in the platanistas, a detestable emulation among our youth. Their tortures are to us an object of curiosity, and to them a subject of triumph. Our fathers were only acquainted with the heroism which was useful to their country, and their virtues were neither raised above, nor sunk below, the level of their duties; but ours, since they have been infected with vanity, exhibit features so swelled and distorted that they are no longer recognisable. This change, which has taken place, since the Peloponnesian war, is a striking symptom of the decline

[f] Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 23. p. 642. Hygin. Fab. 261. Meurs. Græc. Fer. lib. 2. in Διαμας ἱγ. [g] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 16. p. 249.
[h] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 677.

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and corruption of our manners. The exaggeration of evil excites only contempt, but that of good surprises esteem; it is then imagined that the lustre of an extraordinary action dispenses from the most sacred obligations. If this abuse continues, our youth will at length only possess the courage of ostentation. They will brave death at the altar of Diana, and fly at the sight of the enemy.[i]

You recollect the child who, the other day, having concealed a young fox under his garments, suffered it to eat into his bowels rather than confess his theft.[k] His obstinacy appeared so unusual, that his companions loudly blamed him. But, replied I, it was only the natural consequence of your institutions; for he observed that it was better to perish in torments than to live in ignominy.[l] It was not, therefore, without reason, that some philosophers have asserted that your exercises instil a species of ferocity into the minds of your young warriors.[m]

They attack us, replied Damonax, when they perceive we have fallen. Lycurgus had guarded against the overflowing of our virtues by mounds which have subsisted during four centuries, and of which some traces still remain. Have we not lately seen a Spartan, though he had signalised himself by great exploits, punished for having fought without his buckler?[n] But, in proportion as our manners lose their purity,

[i] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51. Id. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239. [k] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51. [l] Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 234. [m] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 4. t. ii. p. 452. [n] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 615.

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false honour refuses to submit to restraint, and communicates itself insensibly to all orders of the state. Formerly the women of Sparta, more prudent and decent than they are at present, when they were informed of the death of their sons, slain on the field of battle, were contented with showing themselves superior to the feelings of nature; at present they make a merit of insulting them, and, that they may not be charged with weakness, do not hesitate to assume an unnatural ferocity. Such was the answer of Damonax: I now return to the education of the Spartans.

In several cities of Greece, youth, when they have attained their eighteenth year, are no longer under the vigilant eye of their preceptors.[o] Lycurgus was too well acquainted with the human heart to abandon it to itself at that critical moment, on which, almost always depends the fate of man, and often that of the state. He counteracted the expansion of the passions by a new course of exercises and labours. The leaders then require from their disciples more modesty, submission, temperance, and ardour; and it is a singular spectacle to see these illustrious youths, who might well be inspired with all the pride of courage and of beauty, not daring, if I may so speak, to open their lips, or lift their eyes, and walking with slow steps, and all the reserve of a timid maiden carrying the sacred offerings.[p] Yet, unless some powerful motive animates this regularity and decency of appearance, modesty may reign in the countenance

[o] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 678. [p] Id. ibid. p. 679.

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while vice triumphs in the heart. Lycurgus has, therefore, stationed around them a body of spies and rivals, by whom they are incessantly watched.

No method can be more proper than this to inspire and preserve the purity of virtue. Place by the side of a young man another of the same age with himself, as an example, and he will hate him if he cannot equal his merit, and despise him if he obtains a triumph without difficulty. On the contrary, place one body of youths in emulative opposition to another, and, as it will be easy to proportion the strength and vary the composition of each, the honour of victory and the shame of defeat will neither too much inflate or humiliate the individuals of which it consists, but a rivalry will take place among them accompanied by esteem; their relations and their friends will hasten to participate in it, and some simple exercises will become interesting exhibitions to all the citizens.

The young Spartans frequently leave their sports to engage in exercises which inure them to greater address and expedition. They are commanded to disperse themselves through the country, with arms in their hands, bare-footed, and exposed to all the inclemencies of the seasons, without slaves to serve them, or covering to defend them from the cold during the night.[q] Sometimes they make observations on the nature of the country, and the best manner of defending it from the incursions of the enemy;[r] sometimes they hunt wild boars, or other beasts of the chase;[s]

[q] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 663. [r] Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 763.
[s] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 680.

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and sometimes, to exercise themselves in the various manœvres of the military art, they lie in ambuscade during the day, and in the following night attack and kill those Helots who, though informed of their danger, have yet been so imprudent as to be found in their way.[t]*

Girls at Sparta, are not brought up like those of Athens. They are not obliged to keep themselves shut up in their apartments to spin wool, and to abstain from wine or too strong meats; but they are taught to dance, to sing, to run swiftly in the stadium, and to throw with force the quoit or javelin.[u] They perform all these exercises without a veil, and half naked,[x] in the presence of the kings, the magistrates, and all the citizens, without even excepting the unmarried young men, whom they excite to distinguish themselves sometimes by flattery, praise, and sometimes by sarcastic irony.[y]

Amid these sports is it that two hearts distinguished one day to unite first begin to cherish those sentiments which must ensure their happiness.[z]† But the transports of an infant passion are never consummated by a premature marriage.‡ Wherever children

[t] Heracl. Pont. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 56. * This kind of military stratagem was called Cryptia: see note III. at the end of the volume. [u] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 806. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 675. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 47. Id. in Num. p. 77. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 227. [x] Eurip. in Androm. v. 598. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 232. [y] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48. [z] Id. ibid. † See note IV. at the end of the volume. ‡ See note V at the end of the volume.

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are permitted to perpetuate families, the human species is seen sensibly to dwindle and degenerate.[a] At Lacedæmon, men have preserved their original vigour, because they do not marry till the body has arrived at its full growth, and their judgment become mature to direct them in their choice.[b]

To the good qualities of their minds, the pair who wish to unite must add masculine beauty, full stature, and exuberant health.[c] Lycurgus, and after him many discerning philosophers, have considered it as absurd that so much care should be taken to improve the breed of certain domestic animals, while that of men is entirely neglected.[d] The event has corresponded with his views, and happy unions seem to have given an additional degree of strength and majesty to human nature.[e] In fact, the purity of the Spartan blood is equalled among no people.

I shall not enter into a minute detail of the marriage ceremonies;[f] but I must not omit to mention a custom remarkable for its singularity. When the marriage is concluded, the bridegroom, after a slight repast, which he takes in the public hall, repairs, at the beginning of the night, to the house of his new relations; he secretly carries off his bride, takes her home, and soon after returns to the gymnasium to rejoin his comrades, with whom he continues to live

[a] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. c. 16. t. ii. p. 446. [b] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676. Plut. in Num. t. i. p. 77. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228. [c] Plut. de Lib. Educ. t. ii. p. 1. [d] Plut. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 459. Theogen. Sent. v. 183. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49. [e] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676. [f] Athen. lib. 14. p. 646. Pausan. lib. 3. c. 13. p. 240.

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as before. On the following days he frequents, as usual, his father's house, but he can only indulge his passion in those moments in which he deceives the vigilance of those who surround him: it would be a shame to him should he be seen coming out of the apartment of his wife.[g] He sometimes lives whole years in this clandestine intercourse, in which the mystery adds so many charms to the surprises and furtive enjoyments of love. Lycurgus knew that desires too soon and too often satisfied terminate in indifference or disgust; he was careful therefore to cherish and preserve them, that the married pair might have time to accustom themselves to the faults of each other; and that love, insensibly stripped of its illusions, might arrive at perfection, by transforming into friendship.[h] Hence the happy harmony which reigns in these families, the heads of which, obedient to the will of each other, seem every day more closely to unite by a new choice, and incessantly present the pleasing image of the most exalted courage joined with the most perfect mildness.

Very weighty reasons may authorise a Spartan not to marry;[i] but in his old age he must not hope to be treated with the same respect as the other citizens. As a proof of this an anecdote is related of Dercyllidas, who had commanded armies with so much glory.[k] That general came one day into the assembly, when a young man said to him: I shall not rise

[g] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 676. [h] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228. [i] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676. [k] Id. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 490, &c.

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to you, because you will leave no children who may one day rise to me.[l] Those who live in celibacy are also exposed to other humiliations. They may not be present at the exercises in which the girls engage half naked; the magistrate may also, in the midst of winter, command them to strip off their clothes, and go round the forum singing sarcastic verses on themselves, in which they acknowledge that their disobedience to the laws merits the chastisement they suffer.[m]

[l] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48. [m] Id. ibid.

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CHAPTER XLVIII.

Of the Manners and Customs of the Spartans.

This chapter is only a continuation of the preceding, for the education of the Spartans continues, if I may so speak, during their whole life.[n]

From the age of twenty years, they suffer their hair and beard to grow. The hair is an ornament, and becomes the free man and the warrior.[o] They are accustomed to obedience in the most indifferent things. When the ephori enter on office, they proclaim, by sound of trumpet, a decree, commanding the people to shave their upper lip, and to submit to the laws.[p] Here every thing conduces to instruction. A Spartan being asked why he wore so long a beard, replied: Since it is grown white, it incessantly reminds me not to dishonour my old age.[q]

The Spartans, by banishing every kind of ornament from their dress, have given an example admired but no where imitated by other nations. Among them, kings, magistrates, and the lowest of

[n] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 54. [o] Herodot. lib. 1. c 82. Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 686. Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 434. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 230. [p] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 803. Id. de Sera Num. Vind. t. ii. p. 550. [q] Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 232.

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the citizens, are not distinguishable by their external appearance.[r] They all wear a very short,[s] and very coarse, woollen tunic,[t] over which they throw a mantle, or a large cloak.[u] On their feet they wear sandals, or shoes, commonly of a red colour.[x] Two heroes of Lacedæmon, Castor and Pollux, are represented with caps which, if joined by the bottom, would resemble the form of that egg from which it is pretended they derive their origin.[y] The caps the Spartans now wear are still of the same shape. Some tie them tight with strings that go behind the ears;[z] others begin to wear instead of them those of the courtesans of Greece. "The Lacedæmonians are no longer invincible," said, in my time, the poet Antiphanes; "the nets in which they bind their hair are died purple."[a]

They were the first after the Cretans who performed the exercises of the gymnasium entirely naked.[b] This custom was afterwards introduced in the Olympic games,[c] and has ceased to be indecent since it is become common.[d]

They appear in public with large sticks, hooked

[r] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 6. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 9. t. ii. p. 374. [s] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 342. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 210. [t] Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 474. Schol. ibid. [u] Demosth. in Canon. p. 1113. Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 746. [x] Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 1. c. 18. [y] Meurs. ibid. c. 17. [z] Id. ibid. [a] Antiph. ap. Athen. lib. 15. v. 8. p. 681. Causab. ibid. t. ii. p. 610. [b] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 452. Dionys. Halic. de Thucyd. Judic. t. vi. p. 856. [c] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 6. Schol. ibid. [d] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 452.

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at the top;[e] but they are forbidden to carry them in the generally assembly,[f] because the affairs of state ought to be determined by strength of argument, and not by force of arms.

The houses of Lacedæmon are small, and built without art. Their doors are only to be smoothed with the saw, and their floors with the adze. Trunks of trees, scarcely divested of their bark, serve as beams.[g] Their furniture, though more elegant,[h] participates of the same simplicity. It is never confusedly heaped together. The Spartans have immediately at hand whatever they want, for they make it a duty to keep every thing in its place;[i] and these little intentions maintain among them the love of order and discipline.

Their diet is coarse and sparing. A foreigner who should see them recumbent round their table, and stretched on the field of battle, would prefer their death to their life.[k] Yet has Lycurgus only retrenched all superfluity from their repasts; and if they are frugal, it is rather from virtue than necessity. They are not in want of butcher's meat. Mount Taygetus furnishes them with plenty of venison;[m]

[e] Aristoph. in Av. v. 1283. Schol. ibid. Id. in Eccles. v. 74 et 539. Theophr. Charact. c. 5. Casaub. ibid. [f] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46. [g] Id. ibid. p. 47. Id. in Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 210 et 227. [h] Id. in Lycurg. p. 45. [i] Aristot. Œcon. lib. 1. c. 5. t. ii. p. 495. [k] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 13. c. 38. Stod. Serm. 29. p. 208. Athen. lib. iv. p. 138. [l] Athen. lib. 4. p. 139. [m] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 680. Pausan. lib. 3. c. 2. p. 261.

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their plains with hares, partridges, and other kinds of game; and the sea and the Eurotas with fish.[n] Their cheese of Gythium is in great estimation,[o] * and they have besides different kinds of pulse, fruits, bread, and cakes.[p]

It is true their cooks are only to dress plain,[q] and never to prepare artificial dishes, except their black broth.[r] This is a sauce the composition of which I have forgotten,† and in which the Spartans dip their bread. They prefer it to the most exquisite dainties.[s] Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, wished to adorn his table with so celebrated a dish. He procured a Lacedæmonian cook, and ordered him to spare neither pains nor expense; but when the broth was served up, the king, having tasted of it rejected it with disgust and indignation. "My lord," said the slave, "an essential seasoning is wanting." "What is that?" said the monarch. "Violent exercise before the meal," replied the Lacedæmonian.[t]

Laconia produces several kinds of wines. That

[n] Athen. lib. 4. p. 141; lib. 14. p. 654. Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 1. c. 13. [o] Lucian. in Meretric. t. iii. p. 321. * This cheese is still in great request in the country. (See Lacedémone Ancienne, t. i. p. 63.) [p] Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 1. c. 12 et 13. [q] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 14. c. 7. [r] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46. Id. in Agid. p. 810. Poll. lib. 6. c. 9. § 57. † Meursius (Miscell. Lacon. lib. 1. c. 8.) conjectures that the black broth was made of pork gravy, to which were added vinegar and salt. It appears, in fact, that the Spartan cooks were not allowed to use any other seasoning than salt and vinegar. (Plut. de Sanitat. Tuend. t. ii. p. 128.) [s] Plut. Institut. Lacon. t. ii. p. 286. [t] Id. ibid. Cicer. Tuscul. Quæst. lib. 5. c. 34. t. ii. p. 389. Stob. Serm. 29. p. 208.

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from the vintage of the five hills, at the distance of seven stadia from Sparta, exhales an odour as fragrant as the perfume of flowers.[u] That which is boiled, must boil till a fifth part is evaporated. It is kept four years before it is drank.[x] At their meals the cup does not pass from hand to hand, as among other nations; but each person empties his own, which is immediately filled again by the slave who waits at table.[y] They may drink as often as they have occasion,[z] a permission which they never abuse.[a] The disgusting sight of a slave who is sometimes made drunk, and brought before them while they are children, inspires them with a rooted aversion to drunkenness,[b] and their minds are too noble ever to submit voluntarily to degrade themselves. Such is the spirit of the answer which a Spartan returned to some one who asked him why he was so moderate in the use of wine: "That I may never," said he, "stand in need of the reason of another."[c] Besides wine, they frequently assuage their thirst with whey.[d]*

They have different kinds of public repasts. The most frequent are the Philitia.† Kings, magistrates,

[u] Alcm. ap. Athen. lib. 1. c. 24. p. 31. [x] Democr. Geopon. lib. 7. c. 4. Pallad. ap. Script. Rei Rustic. lib. 11. tit. 14. t. ii. p. 990. [y] Crit. ap. Athen. lib. 10. p. 432. lib. 11. cap. 3. p. 463. [z] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 680. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 208. Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 637. [b] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239. Athen. lib. 10. p. 433. [c] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 224. Hesych. in Κίρρος. * This drink is still in use in the country. (See Lacedémone Ancienne, t. i. p. 64.) † These entertainments are called by some authors *Phiditia*, but by many others *Philitia*, which appears to be their true name, and signifies associations of friends. (See Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 1. c. 9.)

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private citizens, all assemble to eat together in certain halls, in which a number of tables are spread, most frequently with fifteen covers each.[e] The guests at one table never interfere with those at another, and form a society of friends, in which no person can be received but by the consent of all those who compose it.[f] They recline on hard couches of oak, leaning with their elbows on a stone or a block of wood.[g] Black broth is served up to them, and afterwards boiled pork, which is distributed to each guest in equal proportions, sometimes so small that they scarcely weigh a quarter of a mina each.[h]* They have wine, cakes, and barley bread, in plenty. At other times fish and different kinds of game are added by way of supplement to their ordinary portion.[i] Those who offer sacrifices, or go out to hunt, may, on their return, eat at home; but they must send to their companions at the same table a part of the game or the victim.[k] Near each cover a small piece of crumb of bread is laid to wipe their fingers.[l]

During the repast, the conversation frequently turns on morals or examples of virtue. A great action is related as news worthy to engage the attention of Spartans. The old men commonly dis-

[e] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i, p. 40. Porphyr. de Abstinen. lib. 4. § 4. p. 305. [f] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46. [g] Athen. lib. 12. p. 518. Suid. in Ανχ. et in Φιλίτ. Cicer. Orat. pro Mur. c. 35. t. v. p. 232. Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 1. c. 10. [h] Dicæarch. ap. Athen. lib. 4. c. 8. p. 141. * About three ounces and a half. Dicæarch. ap. Athen. lib. 4. c. 8. p. 141. [k] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 680. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46. [l] Poll. lib. 6. c. 14, § 93. Athen. lib. 9. p. 409.

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course: they speak with precision, and are heard with respect.

Decorum is accompanied by gaiety;[m] Lycurgus has even enjoined it on the guests; and it is with this view that he has ordered a statue of the god of laughter to be placed in the hall.[n] But the pleasantries that excite mirth must contain nothing offensive, and the too severe sally, if it should by chance escape any person present, must never be repeated in any other place. The oldest of the company, showing the door to those who enter, reminds them that nothing they may hear must go out there.[o]

The different classes of youth are present at these repasts, without partaking of them; the youngest to carry off adroitly from the table some portion which they share with their comrades, and the others to receive lessons of wisdom and pleasantry.[p]

Whether these public repasts have been instituted in a city in imitation of those which are taken in a camp, or whether they derive their origin from another cause,[q] it is certain that in a small state, they are of wonderful effect in maintaining the laws.[r] During peace they produce union, temperance, and equality; and during war hold forth a new motive to the citizen to fly to the succour of another with whom he has participated in sacrifices and libations.[s] Minos had

[m] Aristoph. in Lysist. v. 1228. [n] Plut. in Lycurg. p. 55. [o] Id. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 236. [p] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46. et 50. [q] Plat. de Leg. lib. i. t. ii. p. 625; lib. 6. p. 780. [r] Id. ibid. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 45. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 226. [s] Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2. t. i. p. 283.

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appointed them in his states. Lycurgus adopted the custom with some remarkable differences. In Crete the expense is defrayed from the revenues of the republic;[t] but at Lacedæmon from those of individuals, who are obliged to furnish, every month, a certain quantity of barley-meal, wine, cheese, figs, and even money.[u] By this contribution, the poorest class are in danger of being excluded from the meal in common; a defect which Aristotle has censured in the laws of Lycurgus.[x] On the other hand, Plato has blamed both Minos and Lycurgus, because they have not extended this regulation likewise to the women.[y] For my part, I shall not venture to decide between such great politicians and legislators.

Among the Spartans, some are unable either to read or write;[z] others scarcely know how to cypher.[a] They have no idea of geometry, astronomy, or the other sciences.[b] The best informed among them are admirers of the poems of Homer,[c] Terpander,[d] and Tyrtæus, because they elevate the soul. Their theatre is only appropriated to their exercises:[e] they never represent there either tragedies or comedies; for the introduction of the drama among them is forbid-

[t] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9 et 10. t. ii. p. 331 et 332. [u] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46. Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 4. § 4. p. 305. Dicæarch. ap. Athen. lib. 4. c. 8. p. 141. [x] Aristot. ibid. [y] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 780 et 781; lib. 8. p. 839. [z] Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 290. [a] Plat. in Hip. Maj. t. iii. p. 285. [b] Id. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12. c. 50. [c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 680. [d] Heracl. Pont. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823. [e] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 67. Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 597. Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 612.

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den by an express law.[f] Some Spartans, though their number is very small, have cultivated lyric poetry with success. Alcman, who lived about three centuries since, distinguished himself in this species of verse.[g] His style is smooth, though he had to combat the harshness of the Doric dialect, which is spoken at Lacedæmon.[h] But he was animated by a sentiment which smooths and softens all things: he had dedicated his whole life to love, and sang of love to his latest hour.

The Lacedæmonians are admirers of music, which produces the enthusiasm of virtue.[i] Without cultivating that art, they are capable of judging of its influence on manners, and reject those innovations which deprive it of its simplicity.[k]

We may judge of their aversion to rhetoric by the following anecdotes.[l] A young Spartan, while at a distance from his country, had applied himself to the art of oratory. When he returned, the ephori inflicted a punishment on him, for having conceived a design to impose on his countrymen.[m]

During the Peloponnesian war, another Spartan was sent to the satrap Tissaphernes to engage him to prefer the alliance of Lacedæmon to that of Athens. He expressed himself in a few words; and when he

[f] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239. [g] Meurs. Bibl. Græc. in Alcm. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 565. Diction. de Bayle au mot *Alcman*. [h] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 15. p. 244. [i] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238. Camel. ap. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 25. p. 184. [k] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 5. t. ii. p. 454. Athen. lib. 14. c. 6. p. 628. [l] Quintil. Instit. Orator. lib. 2. c. 16. p. 124. Athen. lib. 13. p. 611. [m] Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2. p. 293.

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heard the Athenian embassadors display their ostentatious eloquence, drew two lines, the one straight and the other crooked, but both terminating in the same point, and showing them to the satrap, said to him: Choose.[n] Two centuries before, the inhabitants of an island in the Ægean sea,[o] suffering by famine, had recourse for succour to the Lacedæmonians, their allies, who returned for answer to their embassador: We have not understood the latter end of your harangue, and we have forgotten the beginning. A second embassador was therefore sent, who was cautioned to be extremely concise. He came to Sparta, and began by showing the Lacedæmonians one of the sacks used to carry flour in: the sack was empty. The assembly immediately resolved to supply the island with provisions, but recommended to the embassador not to be so prolix another time. He had, in fact, told them it was necessary to fill the sack.[p]

They despise the art, but they esteem the genius, of oratory. This some of them have received from nature,[q] and have displayed in their own assembly and those of other states; as also in the funeral orations, which are pronounced every year in honour of Pausanias and Leonidas.[r] Brasidas, the general who, during the Peloponnesian war, supported the honour of his country in Macedonia, was considered as elo-

[n] Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2. p. 293. [o] Herodot. lib. 3. c. 46. [p] Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2. p. 293. [q] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 288. [r] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 14. p. 240.

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quent even by the Athenians, who set so high a value on oratory.[s]

The eloquence of the Lacedæmonians always proceeds directly to the point at which it aims, and arrives at it by the most simple ways. Foreign sophists have sometimes been permitted to enter their city and to speak in their presence. When they delivered any useful truths, they were heard with attention and applause; but were no longer listened to when they only endeavoured to dazzle the understanding. One proposed to pronounce before us an eulogium on Hercules: "On Hercules!" cried Antalcidas immediately; "who ever thought of blaming Hercules?"[t]

They do not blush to be found ignorant of those sciences which they consider as superfluous; and one of them replied to an Athenian, who reproached them with this ignorance: We are in fact the only people to whom you have not been able to teach your vices."[u] As they only apply themselves to those kinds of knowledge which are absolutely necessary, their ideas are only therefore the more just and better arranged; for false ideas are like those irregular materials which cannot be employed in the construction of an edifice.

Thus, though the Lacedæmonians have less learning than other nations, they are more intelligent.

[s] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 84. [t] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 192. [u] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 52. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 217.

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It is said that from them Thales, Psittacus, and the other sages of Greece, borrowed the art of comprising moral maxims in short sentences.[x] Instances of this kind which have fallen under my own observation have frequently astonished me. I imagined I was conversing with uncultivated and ignorant persons, when I unexpectedly received from them replies full of the most solid and penetrating sense.[y] Accustomed as they are, from their earliest years, to express themselves with equal energy and precision,[z] they are silent when they have nothing interesting to say,[a] and apologise if they have too much.[b] A certain instinct of greatness teaches them that the diffusive style is only suitable to the suppliant slave; and, in fact, such a style, like the language of supplication, seems fearfully to approach and wind itself around him whom it labours to persuade. The concise style on the contrary, is lofty and majestic, and suitable to the master who commands.[c] It is consonant to the character of the Spartans, who frequently employ it in their conversations and letters. Repartees, rapid as lightning, leave behind them sometimes a lively splendor, and sometimes proofs of the high opinion they entertain of themselves and their country.

Some one was once praising the goodness of the young king Charilaus. "How can he be good,"

[x] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 343. [y] Id. ibid. t. i. p. 342. [z] Herodot. lib. 3. c. 46. Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 641; lib. 4. p. 721. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51 et 52. Pausan. lib. 4. c. 7. p. 296. [a] Plut. ibid. p. 52. [b] Thucyd. lib. 4. c. 17. [c] Demetr. Phaler. de Eloc. cap. 253.

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replied the other king, "since he is so even to the wicked?"[d] In one of the cities of Greece, the herald who was employed to sell some slaves cried aloud: "I sell a Lacedæmonian." "Say rather a prisoner," replied the Spartan, laying his hand on his mouth.[e] The generals of the king of Persia demanded of the deputies from Lacedæmon in what character they meant to carry on their negotiation. "If it fails," replied they, "as individuals; if it succeeds, as embassadors."[f]

The same precision may be remarked in the letters written by the magistrates, and in those which they receive from the generals. The ephori, fearing that the garrison of Decelia should suffer themselves to be surprised, or not intermit their accustomed exercises, wrote to them only these words? "Do not walk."[g] The most disastrous defeat or the most splendid victory was notified with the same simplicity. When, in the time of the Peloponnesian war, the Lacedæmonian fleet, under the command of Mindarus, had been defeated by that of Athens under Alcibiades, an officer wrote to the ephori: "The battle is lost; Mindarus is killed; no provisions nor resources."[h] A short time after, the same magistrates received from Lysander, the general of their army, a letter containing the following words: "Athens is taken."[i]

[d] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 42. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 218. [e] Id. ibid. p. 233. [f] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 55. Id. Apophth. Lacon. p. 231. [g] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 5. [h] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 1. p. 430. [i] Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 441. Id. Apophth. Lacon. p. 229. Schol. Dion. Chrysost. Orat. 64. p. 106.

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Such was the relation of the most glorious and most important conquest Lacedæmon ever made.

It is not to be imagined, from these instances, that the Spartans, condemned to a solemn austerity of reasoning, never dare to unwrinkle their brow. They possess that disposition to gaiety which is the natural consequence of the freedom of the mind and health of the body. Their mirth is rapidly communicated, because it is lively and natural. It is maintained by pleasantries which, having in them nothing low or offensive, are essentially different from buffoonery and satire.[k] They early learn to take and to return them,[l] and desist from them the moment the person who is the object of them solicits to be spared.[m]

With such sallies they frequently repress the pretensions of vanity or the complaints of peevishness. I was one day with the king Archidamus, when Periander his physician presented him some verses which he had just written. The king read them, and said to him in a friendly manner, Why will you make yourself, instead of a good physician, a bad poet?[n] Some years after, an old man, complaining to king Agis of some infractions of the laws, exclaimed that all was lost. "That," replied Agis, smiling, "is so true, that I remember, when I was a boy, I heard my father say that, when he was a boy, he heard my grandfather say the same thing."[o]

[k] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 55. [l] Heracl. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823. [m] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46. [n] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. p. 218. [o] Id. ibid. p. 216.

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The lucrative arts, and especially those of luxury, are severely forbidden the Spartans.[p] They are prohibited from altering the nature of oil by perfumes, or dyeing wool of any colour but purple. There are therefore no perfumers and scarcely any dyers among them.[q] They ought to be entirely unacquainted with gold and silver, and consequently can have among them no workmen in those metals.[r] In the army they may exercise some useful professions, as that of herald, trumpeter, or cook; but on condition that the son shall follow the profession of his father, as is practised in Egypt.[s]

They have such an idea of liberty, that they cannot reconcile it with manual labour.[t] One of them, on his return from Athens, said to me: "I come from a city where nothing is dishonourable;" by which he both meant to allude to the dealings of those who procure courtesans for a certain price, and those who are engaged in retail traffic.[u] Another, being in the same city, and learning that a person had been condemned to pay a fine as a punishment for idleness, declared he wished to see, as an extraordinary sight, the man who had been punished in a republic for having emancipated himself from every species of servitude.[x]

His surprise was founded on the consideration that

[p] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 44. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 6. Polyæn. lib. 2. c. 1. N° 7. [q] Athen. lib. 15. p. 686. Senec. Quæst. Natur. lib. 4. cap. 13. t. ii. p. 762. [r] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 44. [s] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 60. [t] Aristot. de Rhet. lib. 1. c. 9. t. ii. p. 532. [u] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 236. [x] Id. ibid. p. 221.

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the laws, in his own country, were all especially directed to free the minds of the people from factitious interests and domestic cares.[y] Those who have lands are obliged to farm them out to Helots.[z] Those between whom differences arise, must terminate them by accommodation; for they are forbidden to waste the precious moments of their life in the prosecution of lawsuits,[a] no less than in the operations of commerce,[b] or any of those various means employed by others to increase their fortune or lighten the burden of existence.

They are nevertheless strangers to disgust and weariness of life, because they are never alone, nor ever at rest.[c] Swimming, wrestling, running, tennis,[d] the other exercises of the gymnasium, and military evolutions, employ them for a part of the day;[e] and they afterward make it a duty and amusement to be present at the sports and combats of the youth.[f] From thence they go to the lesches, or halls, in different quarters of the city,[g] in which the men of every age are accustomed to meet. They have a great taste for the pleasures of conversation, which, with them, scarcely ever turns on the interests or projects of states; but they listen without ever being weary to the lessons of aged persons.[h] They willingly

[y] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239. [z] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 54. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 216. [a] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 54. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 233. [b] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 682. [c] Plut. in Lycurg. p. 55. [d] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 684. [e] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. c. 5. Id. lib. 14. c. 7. [f] Plut. in Lycurg. p. 54. [g] Pausan lib. 3. c. 14. p. 240; c. 15. p. 245. [h] Plut. in Lycurg. p. 54.

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hear concerning the origin of men, heroes, and cities.[i] The gravity of these discourses is tempered by frequent pleasantries.

These meetings, as well as the public meals and exercises, are honoured with the presence of the old men. I make use of this expression, because old age, in other countries devoted to contempt, raises a Spartan to the summit of honour.[k] The other citizens, and especially the youth, pay them all the respect which they will in their turn require to be paid to themselves. The law obliges them to give way to the aged man wherever they meet him, to rise to him whenever he enters where they are, and to keep silence when he speaks. He is heard with deference in the assemblies of the people and in the halls of the gymnasium. Thus, those citizens who have served their country, far from becoming strangers to it at the end of their days, are then respected for the experience they have gained, and viewed with the same veneration as those ancient monuments whose remains are religiously preserved.

If we now consider that the Spartans dedicate one part of their time to the chase and the business of the general assemblies; that they celebrate a great number of festivals, the splendor of which is heightened by the united charms of dancing and music;[l] and that, in fine, the pleasures common to a whole nation are more lively than those of an individual; far from

[i] Plat. in Hipp. Maj. t. iii. p. 235. [k] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 237. Justin. lib. 3. cap. 3. [l] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 54.

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lamenting their fate, we shall perceive that they enjoy an uninterrupted succession of pleasurable moments and interesting spectacles. Two of the latter had excited the admiration of Pindar. There, said he, we find the ardent courage of youthful warriors continually tempered by the consummate wisdom of the aged, and the brilliant triumphs of the muses perpetually followed by the transports of public joy.[m]

Their tombs, which like their houses, are without ornament, mark no distinction between the citizens.[n] It is permitted to place them in the cities, or even near the temples. Tears and sighs are neither heard at funerals,[o] nor accompany the last moments of the dying; for the Spartans are no more astonished at the approach of death than they were at the continuance of life. Persuaded that death must fix the boundary of their days, they submit to the commands of nature with the same resignation as to the necessities of the state.

The women are tall, strong, healthy, and almost all very handsome. But they are severe and majestic beauties.[p] They might have furnished Phidias with a great number of models for his Minerva, but Praxiteles would with difficulty have found one among them for his Venus.

Their dress consists in a tunic, or kind of short

[m] Pind. ap. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 53. [n] Heracl. Pontic. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823. [o] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238. [p] Homer. Odyss. lib. 13. v. 412. Aristoph. in Lysistr. v. 80. Mus. de Her. v. 74. Coluth. de Rapt. Helen. v. 218. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 5. c. 29. Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 2. c. 3.

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shift, and a robe which descends to the heels.[q] The girls, who are obliged to employ every moment of their time in wrestling, running, leaping, and other laborious exercises, usually only wear a light garment without sleeves,[r] which is fastened over the shoulders with clasps,[s] and which a girdle[t] confines, and prevents from falling below the knee.[u] The lower part is open on each side, so that half the body is naked.[x] I am far from justifying this practice; but I shall relate the motives and consequences of it, as they were stated to me by some Spartans, to whom I testified my surprise at such a custom.

Lycurgus could not subject the girls to the same exercises as the men, unless he removed every thing that might prevent the freedom of their motions. He had no doubt observed that man did not cover himself till after he was become corrupted, and that his garments multiplied in proportion with his vices; that the beauties which seduce him frequently lose all their charms by being shown, and that, in fine, the eyes only defile those minds which are already defiled. Guided by these reflections, he undertook to establish by his laws such a harmony of virtues between the two sexes, that the temerity of the one

[q] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 823. [r] Excerpt. Manuscr. ap. Potter, in Not. ad Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. 2. c. 10. p. 238. Eustath. in Iliad. t. ii. p. 975. [s] Poll. Onomast. lib. 7. c. 13. § 55. Eustath. in Iliad. t. ii. p. 975. lin. 38. [t] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48. [u] Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. 2. c. 10. p. 238. Virg. Æneid. lib. 1. v. 320, 324, et 408. [x] Euripid. in Andromac. v. 598. Soph. ap. Plut. in Num. p. 77. Plut. ibid. p. 76. Hesych. in Δωρίαζ.

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should be repressed, and the weakness of the other supported. Thus, not contented to decree that the punishment of death should be inflicted on him who should dishonour a maiden,[y] he accustomed the youth of Sparta to blush only at vice.[z] Modesty, deprived of a part of its veil,[a] was respected by both sexes, and the women of Lacedæmon were distinguished for the purity of their manners. I may add that Lycurgus has found defenders among the philosophers. Plato in his republic would have the women of every age exercise continually in the gymnasium, veiled with no other garments than their virtues.[b]

A Spartan woman appears in public with her face uncovered until she is married; but after her marriage, as she is only to seek to please her husband, she never goes abroad but with a veil,[c] and as she ought to be known to him alone, it is not esteemed proper that others should speak of her even in her praise:[d] but this concealment and respectful silence are only a homage rendered to decency. No where are women less watched or under less restraint,[e] nor have they any where less abused their liberty. The idea of infidelity to their husbands would formerly have appeared to them as strange as that of displaying the least regard to studied ornament in

[y] Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 2. cap. 3. [z] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 452. [a] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48. [b] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. p. 457. [c] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 232. [d] Id. ibid. p. 217 et 220. [e] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 9. t. ii. p. 328. Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2. c. 24. t. i. p. 287.

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their dress.[f] Though at present they have no longer the same prudence nor the same modesty, they are still more observant of their duties than the other women of Greece.

They have also a more vigorous character of mind, by which they obtain an ascendency over their husbands, who consult them both concerning their private affairs and those of the state. It has been remarked that warlike nations are inclined to love. The union of Mars and Venus seems an emblem of this truth, and the example of the Lacedæmonians serves to confirm it.[g] A woman from another part of Greece once said to the wife of Leonidas: "You are the only women who have gained an ascendency over the men." "No doubt," replied she, "for we are the only women who bring forth men."[h]

Yet were these vigorous minds some few years since seized with a panic which surprized all Greece. At the sight of the army of Epaminondas they filled the city with confusion and terror.[i] Does their character then enfeeble as their virtues decline? Is there a fatality which controuls courage? and can a moment of weakness counterbalance those examples of greatness and elevation of soul which they have at all times exhibited, and which they still continue daily to display?

[f] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228. Heracl. Pont. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823. [g] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 9. t. ii. p. 328. Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 798. Id. in Amator. t. ii. p. 761. [h] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48. [i] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 9. t. ii. p. 329.

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They have a high idea of honour and liberty which they sometimes carry so far, that it is difficult to say by what name we ought to call the sentiment by which they are animated. One of them wrote to her son, who in a battle had saved himself by flight: "Disgraceful reports are circulated concerning you; refute them, or cease to live."[k] An Athenian mother, in similar circumstances, wrote thus to her son: "I owe you many thanks for having preserved yourself for me."[l] Those even who are willing to excuse the latter of these women cannot but admire the former; nor will they be less affected by the answer of Argileonis, the mother of the celebrated Brasidas, who, when some Thracians informed her of the glorious death of her son, and added that Lacedæmon had never produced so great a general, replied: "Strangers, my son was indeed a brave man; but know that Lacedæmon possesses many still braver men than he."[m]

Here we see nature subjected but not annihilated; and in this consists true courage. The ephori accordingly decreed exemplary honours to this illustrious woman.[n] But who can hear without shuddering the reply of a mother, who, when it is said to her, "Your son is killed without quitting his rank;" immediately answers, "Let him be buried, and let his brother take his place;"[o] or of that other who, waiting in the suberb to learn the news of the battle, was told by the courier her five sons were killed. I do

[k] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 241. [l] Stob. Serm. 106. p. 576. [m] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 219 et 240. [n] Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 122. [o] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 242.

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not come, said she, to inquire concerning them, but whether my country has any thing to fear. Our country, replied the messenger, triumphs. It is well, returned she, I shall resign myself with pleasure to my own loss.[p] Who, in fine, can look without horror on those women who put to death with their own hands their sons convicted of cowardice;[q] or those who, hastening to the field of battle, cause the body of their only son to be shown them, examine with an anxious eye the wounds he has received, carefully numbering those which may honour or disgrace his fall; and after this horrible calculation, proudly return at the head of the party, or confine themselves to their houses to conceal their tears and their shame?[r] *.

These extravagances, or rather these enormities of honour, so far surpass the standard of that greatness to which human nature can aspire, that we never find any of the other sex at Sparta proceed to the same excesses. The reason of which is, that with them the love of their country is a virtue that performs sublime actions, but with their wives a passion that attempts extraordinary things. Beauty, ornament, birth, or even the endowments of the mind, not being in sufficient esteem at Sparta to establish distinctions among

[p] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 241. [q] Id. ibid. Anthol. lib. 1. c. 5. p. 5. [r] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12. c. 21. * This latter fact, and others nearly similar, appear to be posterior to the times when the laws of Lycurgus were rigorously observed. It was not till after their decline that the women and children of Sparta were actuated by a false heroism.

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women, they are obliged to found their claims to superiority on the number and valour of their children. While they live they enjoy the hopes which they give of future fame, and after their death inherit the celebrity they have acquired. It is this fatal succession which renders them ferocious, and causes their devotion to their country to be sometimes accompanied with all the phrensy of ambition and vanity.

To that elevation of soul, which they still sometimes manifest at intervals, will soon succeed, without entirely destroying it, ignoble sentiments, and their life will only be a mixture of meanness and magnanimity, barbarism and voluptuousness. Already many among them suffer themselves to be swayed by the splendour of riches, and the attractions of pleasure.[s] The Athenians who loudly condemn the liberty permitted to women at Sparta, triumph when they see this liberty degenerate into licentiousness.[t] Even philosophers censure Lycurgus for having been solely attentive to the education of the men.[u]

We will examine how far this accusation is founded in another chapter, and at the same time consider the causes of the decline which has taken place in the manners of the Spartans; for it must be confessed they are no longer what they were a century ago. Some pride themselves in their riches with impunity, and others seek eagerly for employments which their

[s] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 9. p. 328. [t] Plat de Leg. lib. 1. p. 637. [u] Id. ibid. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 781; lib. 8. p. 806. Aristot. ibid. p. 329.

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fathers contented themselves with deserving.[x] It is not long since a courtesan was discovered in the environs of Sparta;[y] and, which is not less dangerous, we have seen Cynisca, the sister of king Agesilaus, send to Olympia a chariot with four horses, to dispute the prize in the race; we have seen her triumph celebrated by poets, and a monument erected in her honour by the state.[z]

Yet, notwithstanding their degradation, they still preserve some remains of their ancient greatness. They never have recourse to dissimulation, meanness, and that low cunning which debases the mind. They are eager to acquire without avarice, and ambitious without intrigue. The most powerful have the modesty to conceal the licentiousness of their conduct. They are fugitives who fear the laws they have violated, and regret the virtues they have lost.

I have nevertheless seen Spartans whose magnanimity invited others to imitation. They maintained their superiority without effort and without ostentation; nor could they be allured to mean compliance by the splendour of dignities or the hope of rewards, for they neither feared poverty nor death. In my last journey to Lacedæmon, I happened to be in company with Talecrus who was very poor, and Damindas who enjoyed an easy fortune, when there came in one of those men whom Philip kept in pay

[x] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 689. [y] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 495. [z] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 212. Pausan. lib. 3. c. 8. p. 222. Id. ibid. c. 15. p. 243. [a] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 9. p. 330.

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to procure him partisans by bribes. He said to the former: What wealth have you? Every necessary, answered Talecrus, turning his back on him.[b] He threatened the latter with the anger of Philip. Coward, replied Damindas, what hurt can your master do to men who despise death?[c]

When I contemplate at leisure this mixture of growing vices and ancient virtues, I seem to myself in the midst of a forest that has been ravaged by the flames; I behold some trees reduced to ashes, others half consumed, and others which, still remaining undamaged, proudly lift their lofty heads to the skies.

[b] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 232. [c] Id. ibid. p. 219.

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CHAPTER XLIX.

Of the Religion and Festivals of the Spartans.

THE objects of public worship at Lacedæmon only inspire a profound reverence and an absolute silence; neither discussions nor doubts concerning them are permitted. To adore the gods and honour the heroes composes the whole of the religious doctrine of the Spartans.

Among the heroes, to whom temples, altars, and statues have been erected, the most distinguished are Hercules, Castor, Pollux, Achilles, Ulysses, and Lycurgus. Those who are unacquainted with the different traditions of nations, will be surprised to see Helen partake with Menelaus in honours almost divine,[d] and the statue of Clytæmnestra placed by the side of that of Agamemnon.[e]

The Spartans are extremely credulous. One of them in the night imagined that he saw a spectre wandering round a tomb. He pursued it with his uplifted spear, crying out: It is in vain that thou attemptest to escape me, thou shalt die a second time.[f] It is not the priests who cherish this superstition among the people, but the ephori. Those magistrates

[d] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 61. Isocr. Encom. Helon. t. ii. p. 144. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 15. p. 244. [e] Pausan. ibid. cap. 19. p. 258. [f] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 236.

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sometimes pass the night in the temple of Pasiphaë, and the next day relate their dreams as realities.[g]

Lycurgus, who could not assume a power over religious opinions, suppressed the abuses they had occasioned. In every other country the gods may only be presented with victims without blemish, which are frequently sacrificed with ceremonious magnificence. At Sparta the oblations are but of little value, and offered with that modesty which becomes suppliants.[h] Other nations importune the gods with indiscreet and long prayers; the Spartans only request from them the favour that they may achieve great actions after having performed good ones;[i] and conclude with these words, the profound sense of which will be felt by elevated minds: "Grant us the fortitude to support injustice."[k] The eye is not here offended with the sight of dead bodies, as among the neighbouring states. Mourning lasts but eleven days.[l] If grief is real, it ought not to be limited to time; and if fictitious, its imposture ought not to be prolonged.

Hence we may conclude, that if the worship of the Lacedæmonians is, like that of the other Greeks, polluted with errors and prejudices in theory, it at least, in practice, abounds in reason and good sense.

The Athenians have imagined that they should detain Victory with themselves, by representing that divinity without wings.[m] For the same reason the

[g] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 807. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. cap. 43. t. iii. p. 36. [h] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 52. [i] Plat. in Alcib. t. ii. p. 148. [k] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239. [l] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 56. [m] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 22. p. 52.

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Spartans have sometimes represented Mars and Venus in chains.[n] That warlike nation has given arms to Venus, and put a spear in the hands of all the gods and goddesses.[o] The Spartans have placed the statue of Death by the side of that of Sleep, that they may accustom themselves to behold both with the same eye.[p] They have dedicated a temple to the Muses, because they march to battle with the melodious sounds of the flute or the lyre;[q] another to Neptune, who shakes the earth, because they inhabit a country subject to frequent earthquakes;[r] and another to Fear, because there are salutary fears, such as the fear of the laws.[s]

They celebrate a great number of festivals, in the greater part of which I have seen three choruses of old men, men of mature age, and boys, march in order, the old men singing these words:

In days long past and gone, were we
Young, vigorous, hardy, brave, and free.

To which the men of mature age answer:

We who succeed you now are so,
As those who dare to doubt shall know.

While the children who follow them reply:

The same shall we one day be seen,
And e'en surpass what you have been.[t]

[n] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 15. p. 245 et 246. [o] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. tom. ii. p. 232. Id. Instit. Lacon. p. 239. [p] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 18. p. 253. [q] Id. ibid. c. 17. p. 251. [r] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 608. Strab. lib. 8. p. 367. Pausan. lib. 3. c. 20. p. 260. Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 2. p. 294. [s] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 808. [t] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 53.

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In the festivals of Bacchus, I have seen women, to the number of eleven, dispute the prize in running;[u] and I have followed the maidens of Sparta when, in the midst of the joyful acclamations of the people, they have repaired in chariots[x] to the little town of Therapne, to present their offerings at the tomb of Menelaus and Helen.[y]

During the festival of Apollo, surnamed Carneus, which is annually celebrated toward the end of the summer,[z] and which lasts nine days,[a] I have been present at the competitions of the players on the cithara.[b] I saw erected round the city nine booths, or arbours, in the form of tents, in which every day new guests, to the number of eighty-one, nine for each tent, take their repasts. Certain officers, appointed by lot, attend to maintain order;[c] and the whole is conducted by the repeated proclamations of a herald.[d] This is the image of a camp, yet has it not much immediate relation to war; for nothing may interrupt this festival, and, however imminent the danger may be, the army must wait till it is concluded before it takes the field.[e]

The same religious respect detains the Lacedæ-

[u] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 13. p. 239. [x] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 606. Hesych. in Κανναθ. [y] Isocr. Encom. Helen. t. ii. p. 144. Pausan. lib. 3. c. 19. p. 259. [z] Dodwel, Annal. Thucyd. p. 178. Freret, Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. t. xviii. Hist. p. 138. Corsin. Fast. Att. t. ii. p. 452. [a] Demetr. ap. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 141. [b] Hellan. ap. Athen. lib. 14. cap. 4. p. 635. Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238. [c] Hesych. in Καρνεάτ. [d] Demetr. ap. Athen. p. 141. [e] Herodot. lib. 7. c. 206. Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 76. Schol. Thucyd. in cap. 54.

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monians at home during the festival of Hyacinth,[f] celebrated in the spring,[g] and especially by the inhabitants of Amyclæ.[h] Tradition relates, that Hyacinth, the son of a king of Lacedæmon, was passionately beloved by Apollo; that Zephyr, jealous of his beauty, directed on him the quoit that deprived him of life; and that Apollo who had thrown it could only console himself for his death by changing the young prince into the flower which bears his name.[i] Annual games were instituted,[k] the first and third days of which only exhibit sadness and mourning. The second is a day of rejoicing, and all Lacedæmon abandons itself to the intoxication of joy; it is a day of liberty, and on it the slaves eat at the same table with their masters.[l]

On every side are seen choruses of boys, clad only in a tunic, some playing on the lyre, or celebrating Hyacinth in ancient songs accompanied by the flute; others performing dances, and others on horseback displaying their dexterity in the place set apart for such exhibitions.[m]

Soon after the *pomp*, or solemn procession, advances towards Amyclæ, conducted by a leader, who, under the name of legate, is appointed to offer in the temple of Apollo the vows of the state.[n] As soon as

[f] Herodot. lib. 9. c. 6 et 11. [g] Corsin. Fast. Att. t. ii. p. 452. [h] Henoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 4. p. 528. Strab. lib. 6. p. 278. Meurs. Græc. Feriat. in Hyacinth. [i] Nicand. in Theriac. v. 902. Ovid. Metam. lib. 10. fab. 5. Pausan. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 204; c. 19. p. 258. Plin. lib. 21. c. 11. p. 244. [k] Ovid. ibid. v. 219. [l] Polycr. ap. Athen. lib. 4. c. 7. p. 139. [m] Id. ibid. Xenoph. in Ages. p. 661. [n] Inscript. Fourmont. in Bibl. Reg.

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this procession has arrived at the place of its destination, a solemn sacrifice commences, by pouring forth, as a libation, wine and milk within the altar which serves as a base to the statue. This altar is the tomb of Hyacinth.[o] Around it are ranged twenty or five-and-twenty boys, and as many young maidens, who sing in the most charming concert in the presence of many of the magistrates of Lacedæmon.[p]* For in this city, as well as throughout all Greece, religious ceremonies are the care of government, and kings and their children consider it as their duty to take a principal part in them. In our time we have seen Agesilaus, after the most brilliant victories, take the place assigned him by the master of the chorus, and, undistinguished from the other citizens, sing with them the hymn of Apollo in the festival of Hyacinth.[q]

The discipline of the Spartans is such, that their pleasures are ever accompanied with a certain decency. Even during the festivals of Bacchus, whether in the city or the country, no person ventures to transgress the law which prohibits the immoderate use of wine.[r]

[o] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 19. p. 257. [p] Inscript. Fourmont. in Bibl. Reg. * See note VI. at the end of the volume. [q] Xenoph. in Ages. p. 661. [r] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 637.

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CHAPTER L.

Of Military Service among the Spartans.

THE Spartans are obliged to serve in the army from the age of twenty to that of sixty; but after that age they are not required to bear arms, unless the enemy enters Laconia.[s]

When levies of troops are to be made, the ephori command, by a herald, that all the citizens from twenty years old to a certain age mentioned in the proclamation,[t] immediately present themselves to serve in the heavy-armed infantry, or in the cavalry; and the same notice is given to the labourers who are to follow the army.[u]

As the citizens are divided into five tribes, the heavy-armed infantry is distributed into five regiments, which are usually commanded by as many polemarchs.[x] Each regiment is composed of four battalions, eight pentecostys, and sixteen enomotias, or companies.[y]*

On certain occasions, instead of sending a whole regiment, some battalions are detached; and then, by doubling or quadrupling their companies, each battalion is increased to two hundred and fifty-six, or

[s] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 568. Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 609 et 610. [t] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 597. [u] Id. de Rep. Laced. p. 685. [x] Aristot. ap. Harpocrat. in Μόρων. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 350. [y] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 66. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 686. * See note VII. at the end of the volume.

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even to five hundred and twelve men.[z] I am speaking of particular cases, and not general rules: for the number of men in each enomòtia is not always the same,[a] and the general, to conceal the knowledge of his strength from the enemy,[b] frequently varies the composition of his army. Besides these five regiments, there is a body of six hundred chosen men, called sciritæ, who have sometimes turned the scale of victory.[c]

The principal arms of the foot soldier are the pike and buckler. I do not reckon the sword, which is only a kind of poniard that he carries at his belt.[d] On the pike he places his chief dependence, and scarcely ever quits it while he is in the army.[e] A foreigner once said to the ambitious Agesilaus, Where do you place the boundaries of Laconia? At the end of our pikes, replied he.[f]

The body of the soldier is defended by a buckler of brass[g] of an oval form, cut with a hollow on one side, and sometimes on both, terminating in a point at the two extremities, and inscribed with the initial letters of the word Lacedæmon.[h] By this mark the nation is known; but another is still requisite for each soldier to discover his own buckler, since he is

[z] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 68. Schol. ibid. [a] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 596. Suid. in Ενωμοτ. [b] Thucyd. ibid. [c] Id. ibid. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 350. [d] Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 2. c. 1. [e] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 687. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 236. [f] Plut. ibid. p. 210. [g] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 685. [h] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 28. p. 348. Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 2. p. 293. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xvi. Hist. p. 101.

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obliged to bring it back with him under pain of infamy. He therefore chooses some symbol, which he procures to be engraven on it. A certain Lacedæmonian was rallied by his friends for having chosen for his emblem a fly of the natural size. I will, said he in reply, approach so near the enemy, that they shall distinctly see my mark.[i]

The soldier wears a kind of coat of a scarlet colour,[k] which colour has been chosen to prevent the enemy from perceiving the blood that he has caused to flow.[l]

The king marches at the head of the army, preceded by a body of sciritæ, as well as by horsemen sent forward to reconnoitre. He frequently offers sacrifices, at which are present the officers of the Lacedæmonian troops, and those of the allies.[m] Frequently he changes his camp, either to protect the territories of the latter, or to lay waste those of the enemy.[n]

The soldiers every day perform the exercises of the gynasium; a place is traced out for this purpose in the environs of the camp. After the morning exercises they remain seated on the ground till dinner, and after those of the evening, sing hymns in honour of the gods, and lie all night on their arms. The intervals of the day are passed in different amusements;[o] for they are then subjected to fewer labours

[i] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 234. [k] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 685. [l] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238. Valer. Max. lib. 2. c. 6. Schol. Aristoph. in Pace, v. 1178. [m] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 668. [n] Ibid. t. ii. p. 687. [o] Id. ibid. et p. 688

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than they were before they took the field : it may be said that war is to them a time of leisure and rest.[p]

On the day of battle, the king, in imitation of Hercules, sacrifices a she-goat, while the flute-players play the air of Castor.[q] He then sings the hymn of battle, which all the soldiers, with their brows girt with crowns, repeat in concert.[r] After this moment, so terrible and so grand, they adjust their hair and their clothes, clean their arms, eagerly press their officers to lead them to the field of honour, animate each other by sallies of pleasantry,[s] and march forward in order of battle to the sound of flutes, which excite and moderate their courage.[t] The king takes his station in the first rank, attended by a hundred young warriors, who, under pain of infamy, must risk their lives to preserve his,[u] and some athletæ who have gained the prize in the public games of Greece, and who consider this post as the most glorious of distinctions.[x]

I shall say nothing of the scientific manœuvres which the Spartans execute before the attack and during the battle ; their tactics appear at first complicated,[y] but the least attention will be sufficient to

[p] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 53. [q] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 689. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 53. Id. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1140. Poll. lib. 4. c. 10. § 78. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 1. c. 10. [r] Plut. ibid. Poll. lib. 4. c. 7. § 53. [s] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 689. [t] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 70. Polyb. lib. 4. p. 289. Plut. de Irâ, t. ii. p. 458. Athen. lib. 12. p. 517; lib. 14. p. 626. Aul. Gell. lib. 1. c. 11. [u] Herod. lib. 6. c. 56. Isocr. Epist. ad Philip. t. i. p. 445. [x] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 53 et 54. Id. Sympos. lib. 2. c. 5. t. ii. p. 639. [y] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 686.

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convince us that they have foreseen and facilitated every thing, and that the military institutions of Lycurgus are preferable to those of other nations.[a]

It is a disgrace to every man to fly before his enemy, but to the Spartans it is a shame even to have entertained a thought of it.[a] Yet their courage, though ardent and impetuous, is not a blind fury. There is no one among them who, should he hear the signal of retreat in the heat of the battle, and while his sword is uplifted against his enemy fallen at his feet, would not immediately stop his hand and own that his first duty is to obey his general.[b]

This race of men was not born to submit to bondage; the law unceasingly exclaims to them, Die rather than be slaves. Bias, who commanded a body of troops, having suffered himself to be surprised by Iphicrates, some of his soldiers said to him, "What is to be done?" "You," answered he, "must retreat; I must fight and die."[c]

The Spartans prefer keeping their ranks and preserving good order to killing a small number more of the enemy.[d] They are not only forbidden to pursue a flying foe, but also to strip the dead bodies till they have received orders; for it is their duty to be more attentive to secure the victory than the plunder.[e]

[a] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 685 et 689. [a] Senac. Suas. 2. t. iii. p. 16. [b] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 236. [c] Id. ibid. p. 219. [d] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 8. p. 300. [e] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 73. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 54. Plut. Apoph. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. c. 6

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Three hundred Spartans are appointed to see that this law is properly observed.[f]

If the general has had a number of soldiers taken prisoners in a battle, he must risk a second action to recover them from the enemy.[g]

If a soldier has quitted his rank, he is obliged to remain a certain time standing, and leaning on his buckler, in sight of the whole army.[h]

Cowardice, of which examples were formerly extremely rare, subjects the Spartan who is found guilty of it to all the horrors of infamy. He can aspire to no office; if he is married, no family will contract an alliance with his; and if he is not, he can marry into none.[i] It seems as if his pollution was supposed to defile all his posterity.

Those slain in battle are buried, like the other citizens, with a red garment and an olive branch, the symbols, among the Spartans, of warlike virtues.[k] If they have distinguished themselves by their valour, their names are inscribed on their tombs, which are sometimes ornamented with the figure of a lion.[l] But if a soldier has received his mortal wound after having turned his back on his enemy, he is deprived of burial.[m]

The success which has been obtained by prudence

[f] Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 2. c. 1. [g] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 507. [h] Id. ibid. p. 481. [i] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 612. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 214. [k] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238. Herodot. lib. 8. c. 124. [l] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. c. 6. [m] Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 2. c. 1.

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is preferred to that which is gained by bravery only.[n] The spoils of the enemy are not hung up in the temples. Offerings which have been taken from cowards, said king Cleomenes, ought not to be exposed to the eyes of the gods, nor to those of our youth.[o] A victory formerly occasioned neither joy nor surprise; but in our time an advantage gained by Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, produced such lively transports of joy among the Spartans, that no doubt can any longer remain of their decline.[p]

Only such as have not had experience, or who are deficient in vigour or martial ardour, are enrolled in the cavalry. The rich citizen furnishes the arms, and provides for the subsistence of the horse.[q] If this body has gained some advantages, Lacedæmon is indebted for them to the foreign horse soldiers which she maintains in her pay.[r] In general, the Spartans rather choose to serve in the infantry. Persuaded that true courage is sufficient to itself, they wish to fight hand to hand. I was in company with king Archidamus when the model of a machine for throwing darts, then lately invented in Sicily, was presented to him. After having for some time examined it with attention: "Valour," said he, "is now rendered useless."[s]

Laconia may maintain about thirty thousand heavy armed infantry, and fifteen hundred cavalry;[t]

[n] Plut. Instit. Lacon. p. 218. [o] Id. ibid. p. 224. [p] Plut. in Ages. t. 1. p. 614. [q] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 596. [r] Xen. de Magistr. Equit. p. 971. [s] Plut. Apophth. Lycurg. t. ii. p. 219. [t] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 9. t. ii. p. 329.

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but whether population has not been sufficiently encouraged, or whether the state be not ambitious of bringing great armies into the field, the Spartans, who have often marched in a national body against the neighbouring states,[u] have never employed in distant expeditions but a small number of native troops. They had, it is true, forty-five thousand men at the battle of Platæa, but among them were only five thousand Spartans, and as many Lacedæmonians; all the rest were Helots.[x] At the battle of Leuctra there were only seven hundred Spartans in the army.[y]

It was not therefore to her own forces that Sparta was indebted for her superiority over the other states of Greece; and though at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war she caused sixty thousand men to march against the Athenians, this was because the states of Peloponnesus, the greater part of which had for several centuries been in alliance with her, had joined their forces to hers.[z] In our times her armies have been composed of a few Spartans, and a body of neodami, or newly enfranchised citizens; to which were added, according to circumstances, troops from Laconia, and a still greater number furnished by the cities in alliance with Lacedæmon.[a]

After the battle of Leuctra, Epaminondas, having restored liberty to Messenia, deprived the Spartans,

[u] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 643. [x] Herodot. lib. 9. c. 10 et 11. Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 625. [y] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 597. [z] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 9. Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 170. [a] Xen. in Ages. p. 652, &c.

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by whom it had long been held in slavery, of the means of recruiting in that country; and several of the states of Peloponnesus having forsaken them, their power, heretofore so formidable, sunk into a state of feebleness, from which it is not probable that it will ever recover.

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CHAPTER LI.

Defence of the Laws of Lycurgus: Causes of their Decline.

I HAVE said above, that Philotas had set out for Athens the day after our arrival at Lacedæmon. He had not yet returned, at which I was very uneasy: I could not conceive how he could support for so long a time a separation so cruel. But before I left Lacedæmon to rejoin him, I was desirous to have a second conversation with Damonax. In the former he had considered the laws of Lycurgus as they were when they flourished in their full vigour; but I every day saw them yield with so little resistance to dangerous innovations, that I began to entertain doubts of their ancient influence. I accordingly took the first opportunity to explain myself to him on this subject.

One evening the conversation insensibly leading us to mention Lycurgus, I affected less esteem for that great man than I really felt. It seems, said I, that many of your laws have been borrowed from the Persians and the Egyptians.[b] Damonax answered: The architect who constructed the labyrinth of Egypt deserves not less praise for having decorated its entrance with that beautiful Parian marble which he

[b] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 59 et 60. Isocr. in Busir. t. ii. p. 162. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 41 et 42. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 88.

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procured from such a distance.[c] To judge of the genius of Lycurgus, we must consider the whole of his legislation. And this whole it is, replied I, of the honour of which some attempt to deprive you. The Athenians,[d] and the Cretans,[e] maintain that their constitutions, though different from each other, have yet served as models for yours.

The testimony of the former, replied Damonax, is always weakened by a puerile partiality. They allow us no praise, but to appropriate it to themselves. The opinion of the Cretans is better founded. Lycurgus adopted many of the laws of Minos, and rejected others.[f] Those which he chose he modified in such a manner, and accommodated them so well to his plan, that it may be said he discovered what Minos, and perhaps others before him, had already discovered. If we compare the two governments, we shall see sometimes the ideas of a great man brought to perfection by a still greater man, and sometimes differences so sensible, that we shall wonder how it has been possible ever to confound them.[g] One great example of this opposition of views is, that the laws of Minos admit of the inequality of fortunes,[h] which ours have forbidden; and hence cannot but result an essential diversity in the constitutions and manners of the two people. Yet, replied I, gold and silver have now

[c] Plin. lib. 36. c. 13. p. 739. [d] Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 260. [e] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 65. Plat. in Min. t. ii. p. 318. Id. de Leg. lib. 3. p. 683. Xen. Ephor. Callisth. ap. Polyb. lib. 6. p. 488. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 10. t. ii. p. 332. Strab. lib. 10. p. 477. [f] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 41. [g] Polyb. lib. 6. p. 489. [h] Id. ibid.

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forced the barriers raised against them by your ineffectual laws, and you are no longer, as formerly, happy from your privations, and rich, if I may so speak, from your indigence.

Damonax was about to answer, when he heard some person in the street crying: Open, open: for at Lacedæmon it is not permitted to knock at the door.[1] It was my friend; it was Philotas. I ran to embrace him, and in an instant he was in my arms. I presented him again to Damonax, who, a moment after, retired, and left us together. Philotas asked me what I thought of him. He is, replied I, good and affable, and possesses the politeness of the heart, which is much superior to that of form and ceremony; his manners are simple, and his sentiments virtuous. Philotas concluded that Damonax was as ignorant as the generality of Spartans. I added, He is an enthusiastic admirer of the laws of Lycurgus. Philotas remarked that he thought his salutation more awkward this time than at our first interview.

My friend was so prejudiced in favour of his own nation, that he despised every other people, and sovereignly hated the Lacedæmonians. He had collected against the latter all the ridiculous pleasantries levelled at them from the stage of Athens, all the reproaches with which they are loaded by Athenian orators, all the acts of injustice of which they are accused by Athenian historians, and all the defects and errors which the philosophers of Athens censure in

[1] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

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the laws of Lycurgus. Provided with these weapons, he incessantly attacked the partisans of Sparta. I have frequently endeavoured to cure him of this prejudice, for I could not bear that my friend should have a fault.

He had returned to Laconia through Argolis, from whence to Lacedæmon the road is so bad and rugged, that, exhausted with fatigue, he said to me, before he went to bed: No doubt, according to your laudable custom, you will make me climb up some rock, that I may admire at my leisure the environs of this superb city; for there is here no want of mountains to procure that pleasure to travellers. To-morrow, replied I, we will go to the Menelaion, an eminence situate beyond the Eurotas, and Damonax will have the goodness to accompany us.

The next day we passed the Babyx, which is the name given to the bridge over the Eurotas.[k] We soon came in sight of the ruins of some houses which formerly stood on the left bank of the river, but which had been destroyed in the late war by the army of Epaminondas.[l] My friend took this opportunity to pronounce the panegyric of the greatest enemy the Lacedæmonians had ever had, and was sorry to find that Damonax did not answer a word. As we continued our way, we saw three or four Lacedæmonians with clokes striped with different colours, and with their faces shaved only on one side.[m] What farce are these good folks acting?

[k] Arist. ap. Plut. in Lycurg. tom. i. p. 43. Hesych. in Βαβυκ.
[l] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 608. [m] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 612.

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said Philotas. They, said Damonax, are *Tremblers*,[n] so called because they ran away in the battle in which we repulsed the troops of Epaminondas. They are easily known by their dress and appearance, of which they are so much ashamed, that they only frequent solitary places, and, as you see, shun our approach.[o]

After having, from the top of the hill, surveyed that beautiful country which extends toward the south, and those lofty mountains which bound Laconia to the west, we sat ourselves down fronting the city of Sparta. I had on my right hand Damonax, and on my left Philotas, who scarcely deigned to look on the irregular heap of cottages before him. Yet, said I to him, is this the humble abode of that people among whom is so early taught the art of commanding, and the still more difficult art of obedience?[p] Philotas grasped my hand, and made a sign to me to be silent. I added—of a nation which was never elated by success, nor depressed by misfortune?[q] Philotas replied, in a whisper: In the name of all the gods, do not force me to speak: you have already seen that this man is incapable of answering me. I continued—which has constantly maintained a superiority over the other states of Greece, which has defied the Persians, frequently defeated the generals of the Athenians, and at last made itself master of their capital; which throughout all Greece——? Is sovereignly detested for its tyranny, and despised for its vices, cried Philo-

[n] Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 3. cap. 7. [o] Xen. de Rep. Laced. page 684. [p] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. tom. ii. page 212. [q] Archid. ap. Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 84.

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tas; and immediately blushing at what he had said, Excuse, said he to Damonax, this emotion of anger in a young man who adores his country, and will not silently suffer it to be insulted in his presence. I reverence that sentiment, replied the Spartan; Lycurgus has made it the grand motive of all our actions. O my son! he who loves his country obeys the laws. Yours deserves your attachment; and I should blame Anacharsis for having carried his pleasantry so far, had he not by it afforded us an opportunity mutually to cure each other of our prejudices. We will enter the lists, you with all the advantages you have derived from your education, and I with no other weapon but the love of truth.

Philotas now said to me, in a whisper, This Spartan really possesses good sense; save me from the pain of wounding his feelings, and turn, if possible, the conversation on some other subject. Damonax, said I, Philotas has drawn a character of the Spartans, after the representations of Athenian writers; desire him to show it you. The anger of my friend was now ready to burst upon me, but Damonax prevented it by addressing him as follows: You have reproached my country, and it is my duty to defend it. You are to blame if you have only spoken from your own ideas on the subject; but I excuse you if you have taken up your opinion from what has been said of us by some Athenians; for I cannot believe that all of them think so ill of us.—You are right, replied Philotas, briskly; there are those among them who look upon you as a kind of

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demi-gods,[r] and who endeavour to copy you in every thing; but I must confess our men of sense and learning express themselves very freely on the subject of your laws and manners. The philosophers I mean are the men of the greatest genius which Greece has produced, such as Plato, Isocrates, and Aristotle, and surely they must have been well informed. Damonax dissembled his surprise; and Philotas, after many apologies, proceeded as follows:

Lycurgus was ignorant of the order in which the virtues should be arranged; he gave the first place to courage,[s] and hence that train of ills which the Lacedemonians have themselves suffered, and which they have brought upon others.

Scarcely was that legislator dead, when their ambition invaded the neighbouring states.[t] This fact is attested by an historian with whom you are unacquainted, and whose name is Herodotus. Devoured by the desire of dominion, their weakness has often forced them to submit to humiliating meanness, and to be guilty of atrocious injustice. They were the first to corrupt the generals of their enemies,[u] and the first to solicit the protection of the Persians, of those barbarians, to whom, by the peace of Antalcidas, they had not long since sold the liberties of the Asiatic Greeks.[x]

[r] Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 201. [s] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. tom. i. p. 630: lib. 4. p. 705. [t] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 66. [u] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 17. p. 321. [x] Isocr. in Panegyr. t. i. p. 18. Id. in Panath. t. ii. p. 234. Polyb. lib. 6. p. 492.

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They are full of dissimulation in all their dealings, perfidious in their treaties,[y] and supply the place of courage in battle by stratagem.[z] The success of any state causes in them the most envious uneasiness. They raise up enemies against it, and endeavour to distract it by intestine divisions which they excite or foment. In the last century they proposed to destroy Athens which had saved Greece,[a] and kindled the Peloponnesian war which ended in the ruin of Athens.[b]

Lycurgus in vain endeavoured to preserve them from the poison of riches. Lacedæmon conceals within itself an immense quantity of wealth,[c] but it is only in the hands of some individuals whose avarice can never be satiated.[d] They only are preferred to employments, refused to merit, which groans in indigence.[e] Their wives, whose education Lycurgus neglected, as he has done that of all the Lacedæmonian women, govern and betray them.—They partake of their covetousness, and by their dissolute lives increase the general corruption.[f]

The virtue of the Lacedæmonians is gloomy, austere, and founded solely on fear:[g] their education renders them so cruel, that they can behold the blood

[y] Euripid. in Androm. v. 446. Aristoph. in Pace, v. 216 et 1067; in Lysist. v. 630. [z] Pericl. ap. Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 39. [a] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 6. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. page 375. [b] Dionys. Halic. t. vi. p. 770. [c] Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 122. [d] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 9. t. ii. p. 331; lib. 5. cap. 7. p. 396. [e] Pericl. ibid. cap. 37. [f] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. tom. ii. p. 806. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 9. t. ii. p. 328. [g] Pericl. ap. Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 37.

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of their children flow without regret, and that of their slaves without remorse.

These accusations are very heavy, said Philotas, as he concluded, and I know not how you will answer them. By the remark of the lion, replied the Spartan, who, when he was shown the figure of an animal of his own species beneath the feet of a man, contented himself with observing that lions were not sculptors. Philotas, surprised, said to me in a whisper, Has he then read the fables of Æsop? I cannot tell, said I; he has perhaps heard this story from some Athenian. Damonax, however, proceeded as follows: Believe me we concern ourselves no more with what is said in the forum of Athens, than with what happens beyond the Pillars of Hercules.[h] How! cried Philotas, will you suffer your name to be circulated from city to city, and transmitted from generation to generation, with ignominy? Men who are strangers to the country and age in which we live, replied Damonax, will never venture to condemn us on the credit of a nation which has always been our rival, and frequently our enemy. Who can even say but we may find defenders?—Gracious Heaven! and what can they produce in opposition to that portrait with which I have just presented you?—A portrait more faithful, and drawn by no less able masters. I will give it to you.

A government which truly deserves the name exists alone at Lacedæmon and in Crete; elsewhere

[h] Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 312.

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we only find societies of citizens, some of whom are masters and the rest slaves.[i] At Lacedæmon there is no other distinction between the king and the private individual, the rich and the poor, than that which the legislature, inspired by the gods themselves, has fixed.[k] Lycurgus was under the immediate guidance of a divinity when he restrained by a senate the too great authority of the kings.[l]

This government, of which the constituent powers are so well counterbalanced,[m] and the wisdom of which is so generally acknowledged,[n] has subsisted during four centuries without experiencing any essential change, or exciting the least dissension among the citizens.[o] Never in those happy times did the republic do any thing at which she had cause to blush;[p] never was seen in any state so perfect a submission to the laws, so much disinterestedness, frugality, mildness, magnanimity, valour, and modesty.[q] Then was it that, notwithstanding the instances of our allies, we refused to destroy that Athens[r] which since——At

[i] Plat. de Leg. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 712. [k] Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 696. [l] Id. ibid. p. 692. [m] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 6. t. ii. p. 321; c. 11. p. 335; lib. 4. c. 9. p. 374. [n] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 466. Isocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 96. Id. in Areop. p. 342. Id. in Archid. t. ii. p. 34. Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 599. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. p. 335. Demosth. adv. Leptin. p. 556. [o] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 18. Lys. in Olym. p. 521. Xen. in Ages. p. 651. Isocr. in Panath. t. ii. p. 316. [p] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 611. [q] Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 122. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 552. Id. de Rep. Laced. p. 685. Isocr. in Panath. t. ii. p. 287 et 316. [r] Andocid. de Myster. pars secunda, p. 18. Xen. ibid. lib. 2. p. 460; lib. 6. p. 609 et 611. Isocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 399 et 414. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 1. c. 45. § 5. Justin. lib. 6. c. 8.

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these words Philotas exclaimed, You have certainly only consulted Lacedæmonian writers. We have none, replied Damonax.—Those from whom you have your accounts were then sold to Lacedæmon?—We have never bought any. Would you wish to know my authorities? They are the first men of genius Greece has produced; Plato, Thucydides, Isocrates, Xenophon, and others. I had formed intimate connections with several of these in the frequent journeys I made to Athens, by order of our magistrates, and to their conversation and works I am indebted for that little knowledge which astonishes you in a Spartan.

Damonax only saw surprise in the countenance of Philotas; but I could likewise perceive a fear that he might be accused of ignorance or insincerity. He was, however, only to be charged with prejudice and levity. I asked Damonax why the Athenian writers had differed so much among themselves, and indulged in so many licenses in speaking of his nation. I might answer you, replied he, that they yielded by turns to the force of truth and to that of national hatred. But fear nothing, Philotas; I will respect your delicacy.

During the war, your orators and poets, in order to animate the populace against us, acted like those painters, who to revenge themselves of their enemies, represent them under hideous caricatures. Your philosophers and historians more wisely dealt out to us at once censure and praise, both of which, according to the difference of times, we had deserved. They have acted like those able artists, who success-

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lvely represent their heroes in a tranquil state of mind, and in a fit of rage, with the charms of youth, and the wrinkles and deformities of old age. You and I have just been contemplating these different representations. You have borrowed all the features which might disfigure your portrait, and I should have selected all those which might embellish mine, and thus we should have presented each other only with unfaithful copies. We must therefore return to the point from which we set out, and found our ideas on incontestable facts.

I have to defend myself against two attacks, since your objections are equally directed against our manners and our government. Our manners maintained their purity during four centuries, as your writers have themselves acknowledged. They began to be corrupted during the Peloponnesian war, as we ourselves allow. Censure then our present vices, but reverence our ancient virtues.

Of the two points which I had to defend, I have compounded for the first, but I shall yield nothing with respect to the second. I shall ever maintain, that among all known governments there is not one more admirable than that of Lacedæmon. Plato, it is true, though convinced of its excellence, has thought he could discover some defects in it;[s] and I am informed that Aristotle intends to produce a still greater number.

If these defects do not essentially injure the con-

[s] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 628 et 684; lib. 7. p. 806.

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stitution, I should say to Plato: You have taught me that the Supreme Being, when he formed the universe, acted on a pre-existent matter, which sometimes opposed his power with an invincible resistance, and that he only effected that good of which the eternal nature of things was susceptible.[t] I will dare to say, in my turn, Lycurgus laboured on refractory materials, which participated of the imperfection that resides in the essence of all things; I mean on man, of whom he has made all that it was possible to make him.

If it be alleged that the defects of his laws must necessarily occasion their destruction, I will remind Plato of what is confessed by all the Athenian writers,[u] and what he himself not long ago wrote to Dionysius king of Syracuse. The law alone reigns at Lacedæmon, and the same government has maintained itself there, in all its splendor, for many ages.[x] But how is it possible to conceive that a constitution labouring under destructive vices, which are inherent in its nature, should continually remain unshaken, and be never disturbed by those factions which have so often laid waste the cities of Greece![y]

This union is the more strange, subjoined I, as, among you, the one half of the citizens are subjected to the laws, and the other not. This, at least, is what the philosophers of Athens advance. They say that your legislation does not extend to the women, who,

[t] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. [u] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 18. Xen. in Ages. p. 651 et alii ut supra. [x] Plut. Epist. 8. t. iii. p. 354. [y] Lys. in Olymp. p. 521.

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having gained an absolute dominion over their husbands, accelerate from day to day the progress of corruption.[z]

Damonax answered: Inform those philosophers that our daughters are educated in the same discipline, and with the same rigour, as our sons; that they are accustomed to the same exercises; that they bring to their husbands no other portion than their virtues;[a] that when they become mothers, they have the superintendance of the long education of their children, at first in conjunction with their husbands, and afterwards with the magistrates; that public censors continually watch over their conduct;[b] that the care of the slaves and the household affairs is entirely committed to them;[c] that Lycurgus was careful to forbid them every kind of ornament;[d] that it is not fifty years since the women of Lacedæmon were persuaded a rich dress would diminish their beauty;[e] and that before that period the purity of their manners was generally acknowledged.[f]— Lastly, ask them, whether in a state where the men are virtuous, it is possible that the women should not be so likewise?

Your daughters, replied I, are habituated from their infancy to laborious exercises, and this Plato

[z] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 806. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 9. t. ii. p. 328 et 329. Id. de Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 5. t. ii. p. 523.
[a] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 227. Justin. lib. 3. c. 3.
[b] Hesych. in Αρμοσυν. [c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 806.
[d] Heracl. Pont. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823. [e] Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 434. [f] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228.

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approves; but they no longer use these exercises after their marriage, and this he condemns. In fact, in a government like yours, it is necessary that the women, after the example of those of the Samatians, should be always able to attack or repel the enemy.[g] We bring up our girls so hardily, answered he, that they may have a robust constitution; but we require in our women only the peaceful virtues of their sex. Why should we put arms in their hands, since we are ourselves able to defend them?

Here Philotas broke silence, and in a more modest tone, said to Damonax: Since your laws have only war for their object, would it not be essential to multiply among you the number of those who may bear arms! War the object of our laws! exclaimed the Spartan: I recognise the language of your writers,[h] who ascribe to the wisest and most humane of legislators, the project of all others the most cruel and absurd; the most cruel, if he wished to perpetuate in Greece a soldiery thirsting for the blood of nations and for conquests; the most absurd, since to effect it he has only proposed means absolutely contrary to his views.[i] Examine our military code; its regulations, taken in their literal sense, only tend to inspire us with generous sentiments, and repress our ambition. We are, it is true, so unfortunate as to disregard them, but they do not for that the less inform us of the real intentions of Lycurgus.

[g] Plat. de. Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 806. [h] Id. ibid. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 630; lib. 4. p. 705. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 9. t. ii. p. 331. [i] Polyb. lib. 6. p. 491.

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By what means, in fact, can a nation enlarge its dominions, whose valour is enchained at every step; which, deprived by its laws of mariners and ships,[k] is incapable of extending its territories on the side of the sea; and which, forbidden by the same laws to besiege the strong places that defend the frontiers of its neighbours,[l] is equally unable to enlarge them on that of the land; which is forbidden to pursue a flying enemy, or to enrich itself with his spoils;[m] which, prohibited from frequently making war on the same people,[n] is obliged to prefer the methods of negociation to force of arms; which, not being permitted to march before the full moon, nor to fight on certain festivals,[o] is sometimes in danger of seeing all its projects prove abortive; and which, by its extreme poverty, is at all times incapable of undertaking any great enterprise?[p] Lycurgus has not intended to form of us a nation of conquerors, but of tranquil warriors, who breathe only peace if they are left unmolested, but who respire nothing but war if any foreign power should dare to disturb their repose.

It seems, nevertheless, replied Philotas, that by the nature of things a nation of warriors must sooner or later degenerate into a nation of conquerors, and we see by the course of events that you have experi-

[k] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239. [l] Herodot. lib. 9. c. 69. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228 et 238. [m] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 73. Pausan. lib. 4. c. 8. p. 300. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 54. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. c. 6. [n] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 47. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 1. c. 16. [o] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 106; lib. 7. c. 206; lib. 9. c. 11. Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 76. [p] Polyb. lib. 6. p. 493.

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enced this change without perceiving it. You are, in fact, accused of having early conceived, and never having totally lost sight of, the design of enslaving the Arcadians[q] and Argives.[r] I shall not speak of your wars with the Messenians, for you believe that you are able to justify them.

I have already said, answered Damonax, that we have no annals. Some confused traditions inform us that anciently we had more than once disputes with the neighbouring states. Were we the aggressors? This is a question which neither you nor I are able to answer with certainty. But I know that in those distant ages one of our kings having defeated the Argives, our allies advised him to seize on their city. The opportunity was favourable, and the conquest easy; but he replied: This would be an injustice; we made war to secure our own frontiers, and not to usurp territories to which we have no kind of right.[s]

Would you wish to be acquainted with the true spirit of our institutions; consider more recent facts, and compare our conduct with that of the Athenians. The Greeks had triumphed over the Persians, but the war was not yet concluded. It was successfully continued under the conduct of Pausanias, who abused his power. We recalled him, and, having obtained undoubted proofs of his malversations, condemned to death the conqueror at Platæa. The allies, however,

[q] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 66. Pausan. lib. 3. c. 3. p. 210. [r] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 82. Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 227 et 231, Pausan. lib. 3. c. 4, p. 211; c. 7. p. 219. [s] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 231.

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offended at his haughtiness, had transferred to the Athenians the supreme command of the army. This was to deprive us of a right which we had till then enjoyed, and which placed us at the head of the states of Greece. Our warriors, inflamed with rage, were eager to defend our claim with the sword; but an aged man having represented to them that foreign wars were only proper to corrupt the manners of the nation,[t] they immediately resolved rather to renounce their right than endanger their virtues. Is this the character of conquerors?

Athens, become, with our consent, the first state in Greece, daily extended her conquests. Nothing resisted her power, or satisfied her ambition. Her fleets and armies alike attacked with impunity friends and enemies. The complaints of oppressed Greece reached our ears,[u] but certain critical circumstances prevented us from listening to them, and when times were more tranquil we disregarded them through indolence. The torrent at length began to burst on our ancient allies of the Peloponnesus, who were disposed to abandon us,[x] and perhaps even to turn the stream against us, if we had refused any longer to resist its progress.

In what I have now said I cannot be suspected of disguising the truth, since I only speak after the most accurate historian of Greece, an enlightened Athenian, and an impartial witness to the facts he

[t] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 95. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 38. Plut. in Aristid. t. i. p. 333. [u] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 101; lib. 3. c. 10. [x] Id. lib. 1. c. 71.

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relates.[y] Read, in the work of Thucydides, the discourse of the embassador of Corinth,[z] and that of the king of Lacedæmon.[a] Observe how much we then laboured to preserve peace,[b] and judge for yourself whether the Peloponnesian war was to be attributed to our ambition, as it will, perhaps, one day be asserted on the report of some prejudiced writers.[c]

A nation cannot be ambitious which by character and principle is extremely slow in forming and executing projects,[d] which ventures to hazard nothing, and which must be forced to take arms.[e] No, we were not jealous; it had been too great a shame to us had we been so; but we felt an indignation at seeing those flourishing countries, which we had saved from the yoke of the Persians, ready to submit to that of a single city of Greece.

In this long and calamitous war both parties committed gross faults, and were guilty of horrible cruelties. More than once the Athenians must have perceived that, from our slowness to profit by our advantages, we were not the most dangerous of their enemies;[f] more than once they must have been astonished at our eagerness to terminate those mischiefs which had been protracted much longer than we had expected.[g] In every campaign and expedition we testified in the most lively manner our regret at the

[y] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 118; lib. 5. c. 26. [z] Id. lib. 1. c. 68. [a] Id. ibid. c. 80. [b] Id. ibid. c. 139; lib. 2. c. 12. [c] Dionys. Halic. Epist. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 770. [d] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 70, 118, et 120. [e] Id. ibid. c. 118; lib. 8. c. 96. [f] Id. lib. 8. c. 96. [g] Id. lib. 5. c. 14.

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interruption of our tranquillity. Almost always the last to take arms, and the first to quit them, when conquerors we offered peace,[h] and solicited it when vanquished.[i]

Such were in general our dispositions, and happy had we been had the divisions which began to arise in Sparta,[k] and the respect we owed to our allies, permitted us always to conform to them. But they were manifested in the most unequivocal manner at the taking of Athens. The Corinthians, Thebans, and some other states, proposed to destroy the city to the foundations; but we rejected the proposal.[l] In fact it was not the houses and temples of Athens which should have been buried in the bowels of the earth, but those treasures she contained, those valuable spoils and immense sums which Lysander, the general of our fleet, had collected in the course of his expeditions, and which he by degrees introduced into Sparta.[m]* I remember, though I was then very young, that the wisest men among us shuddered at the sight of their mortal enemy. Roused by their remonstrances, the ephori proposed to banish for ever those riches, the fruitful source of the divisions and disorders with which we were threatened;[n] but the party of

[h] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 13. [i] Id. lib. 4. c. 15 et 17. Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 177. Schol. Aristoph. in Pac. v. 664. [k] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 36. [l] Andocyd. de Myst. pars secunda, p. 18. Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 460. Isocr. Justin et alii ut supra. [m] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 462. Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 225. * See note VIII. at the end of the volume. [n] Athen. lib. 6. p. 223. Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 797. Id Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

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Lysander prevailed, and it was determined that the gold and silver should be converted into money, and applied to the service of the republic, not that of individuals:[o] a mad and fatal resolution; for when the government had affixed a value to those metals, it could not but be expected that individuals would soon consider them as objects of the greatest importance.

They seduce you without difficulty, said I, because, according to the remark of Plato, your laws have only armed you against pain, and not against pleasure.[p] When the poison has insinuated itself into the state, replied Damonax, philosophy alone can guard us against its baneful effects; but before its entrance, the legislator must confine himself to preventing its approach; for the best mode of avoiding certain dangers is to be ignorant of them. But, replied I, since the assembly accepted the fatal present which Lysander offered, he was not the first author of the changes which your manners have undergone.

These, answered he, had a more distant origin.[q] The Persian war had thrown us into the midst of that world from which Lycurgus had wished to preserve us distinct. During half a century, in contempt of our ancient maxims, we had let our armies into distant countries, and there formed intimate connec-

[o] Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 442. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 14. c. 29. [p] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 634. [q] Dissert. de M. Mathon de la Cour, et de M. l'Abbé de Gourcy sur la Decadence des Lois de Lycurge.

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tions with their inhabitants. Our manners, incessantly intermingled with those of foreign nations, were corrupted like pure waters which pass over an infected or contagious morass. Our generals, vanquished by the presents of those over whom they ought to have triumphed with their arms, diminished from day to day the lustre of our glory and their own. We punished them at their return; but from the rank and merit of the offenders, their crime was surveyed with less horror, and the law inspired only fear. More than once, Pericles had purchased the silence of some of our magistrates, who had sufficient influence to make us shut our eyes on the enterprises of the Athenians.[r]

After this war, which crowned us with glory, but at the same time communicated to us the germ of destructive vices, we saw, without alarm, or as I should rather say, we participated in, the violent passions of two men of powerful genius, whom our unhappy destiny raised up in the midst of us. Lysander and Agesilaus undertook to exalt Sparta to the summit of power, the one to reign over her, and other to reign with her.

The Athenians more than once defeated by sea, a war of seven-and-twenty years terminated in an hour,[s] Athens taken, many cities delivered from an odious yoke, others receiving from us magistrates who ended by oppressing them, Greece reduced to silence, and forced to acknowledge the sovereignty of Sparta,

[r] Apophth. in Pace. v. 621. Theophr. ap. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 164. [s] Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 439.

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such are the principal features which characterise the brilliant administration of Lysander.

His politics were only acquainted with two principles, force and perfidy. In consequence of some differences which had arisen between us and the Argives, with respect to their boundaries, the latter produced their titles to the lands in question. This is my answer, said Lysander, laying his hand on his sword.[t] His favourite maxim was, that "children would be deceived with toys, and men with oaths."[u]

Hence his oppression and injustice when he had nothing to fear, and his craft and dissimulation when he dared not to have recourse to open violence. At the courts of the satraps of Asia, he submitted without a murmur to the insults of their ostentatious grandeur,[x] and the next moment behaved to the Greeks with the same haughtiness and contempt with which he had himself been treated by the Persians.

When he had obtained the empire of the sea, he every where abolished the democratical government, for such was the custom of Sparta;* and he followed it with pertinacity, that he might improve the opportunity to place at the head of each city men who had no other merit than an entire submission to his will.[y] These revolutions were not effected without torrents

[t] Plut. in Lysand. tom. i. p. 445. [u] Id. ibid. p. 437. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. 229. [x] Id. in Lysand. tom. i. p. 434.

* Nothing does more honour to Sparta than this practice. By the excessive abuse which the people every where made of their authority, each city was distracted with factions, and frequent wars were occasioned among all the states of Greece. [y] Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 435.

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of tears and blood. He omitted nothing to enrich his creatures, or to crush his enemies, for by that name he called all those who defended the true interests of the people. His hatred was implacable, his vengeance terrible; and when his naturally gloomy disposition was sharpened by the peevishness of age,[z] the least resistance rendered him ferocious.[a] On one occasion he caused eight hundred of the inhabitants of Miletus to be massacred, who, confiding in his oath, had been so imprudent as to leave the place of their retreat.[b]

Sparta silently acquiesced in these acts of atrocity.[c] He had procured a great number of partisans among us by the severity of his manners,[d] his obedience to the magistrates, and the splendour of his victories. When, by his unbounded liberality, and the terror of his name, he had acquired a still greater number among foreign nations, he was considered as the sovereign arbiter of Greece.[e] Yet, though he was of the house of the Heraclidæ,[f] he was too far removed fom the throne to entertain any hopes of arriving at the royal dignity. He therefore supported and raised to the crown Agesilaus, whom he tenderly loved, and whose right might be contested. As he flattered himself he should be able to reign under the name of this young prince, he inspired him with a thirst for glory, and intoxicated him with the hope of subverting the vast empire of the Persians. Deputies from several

[z] Aristot. Probl. § 30. tom. ii. p. 815. Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 434 et 439. [a] Plut. ibid. p. 445. [b] Id. ibid. p. 443. [c] Id. ibid. p. 444. [d] Id. ibid. p. 434. [e] Id. ibid. p. 445. [f] Id. ibid. p. 434.

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cities soon after arrived, by the secret procurement of Lysander, who requested Agesilaus to command the army which they had raised against the Persians; and that prince immediately departed, attended by a council of thirty Spartans, of which Lysander was president.[g]

When they arrived in Asia, all the petty despots which Lysander had placed in the neighbouring cities, tyrants a thousand times more cruel than those who reign over great empires, since cruelty increases in proportion to its weakness, acknowledged only their protector, servilely crouched at his feet, and only rendered to the sovereign that respect to which they were compelled by decency. Agesilaus, jealous of his authority, soon perceived that though he nominally held the first rank, he in reality only acted a second part: he therefore purposely gave repeated occasions of offence to his friend, who returned to Sparta breathing vengeance.[h] He then resolved to carry in execution a project which he had formerly conceived, and the plan of which he had traced out in a memoir,[i] found after his death among his papers.

The house of Hercules is divided into several branches, two only of which possess the right to the crown. Lysander wished to extend this right to the other branches, and even to all the Spartans. The honour of reigning over free men would have become the reward of virtue; and Lysander, by his influence, might one day have invested himself with the supreme

[g] Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 446. [h] Id. ibid. p. 447. [i] Id. ibid. p. 450.

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authority. As such a revolution could not be effected by open force, he had recourse to imposture.

A report was current that, in the kingdom of Pontus, a woman had brought forth a son, of whom Apollo was the father, and whom the chiefs of the nation had caused to be brought up under the name of Silenus. This vague rumour suggested to Lysander the idea of an intrigue which he conducted for many years, without appearing in it himself, by the means of subaltern agents; some of whom reminded the people at intervals of the miraculous birth of the child, while others declared that the priests of Delphi had in their possession certain old oracles, which they were not permitted to look into, and which they were one day to remit to the son of the god of whose altars they were the ministers.

The unravelling of the plot of this strange farce now approached. Silenus had appeared in Greece. It was concerted that he should repair to Delphi; that the priests, who had been secured in the interest of the scheme, should examine, in the presence of a great number of witnesses, the proofs of his divine birth; and that compelled to acknowledge him the son of Apollo, they should deliver into his hands the ancient prophecies, which he should read in presence of the numerous assembly collected on the occasion; and that, by one of these oracles, it should be declared that the Spartans should from that time elect their kings from among the most virtuous of the citizens.

At the moment when this project was to have

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been carried into execution, one of the principal actors in it, terrified at the possible consequences of the imposture, dared not complete what he had undertaken;[k] and Lysander, in despair, procured for himself the command of some troops which were to be sent into Bœotia, where he fell in battle.[l] We decreed honours to his memory,[m] though we ought to have stigmatised it with infamy. He contributed more than any other man to deprive us of our moderation and our poverty.

His system of aggrandisement was followed more methodically by Agesilaus. I shall not speak to you of his great achievements in Greece, Asia, and Egypt. He was more dangerous than Lysander, because, with the same talents, he possessed more virtues; and, with the same ambition, was always exempt from presumption and vanity. He never suffered any statue to be erected to him.[n] Lysander himself consecrated his own in the temple of Delphi, and permitted altars to be raised and sacrifices to be offered to him; he lavished rewards on poets, who in return lavished their praises; and he always carried one of them with him to observe and celebrate the smallest advantages he obtained.[o]

Both enriched their creatures while they themselves lived in extreme poverty, and both were alike constantly inaccessible to pleasures.[p]

Both to obtain the command of armies shamefully flattered the ephori, and concluded by transferring to

[k] Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 448. [l] Id. ibid. p. 449. [m] Id. ibid. p. 451. [n] Xen. in Ages. p. 673. [o] Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 443. [p] Id. ibid. p. 434. Id. in Syll. t. i. p. 476.

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them all real power. Lysander, after the taking of Athens, wrote to them thus: "I have told the Athenians, that it is for you to decide on war and peace."[q] Agesilaus rose up from the throne whenever the ephori appeared.[r]

Both, assured of the protection of those magistrates, inspired the Spartans with a kind of phrensy; and by a series of acts of injustice and violence,[s] raised up against us that Epaminondas who, after the battle of Leuctra, and the re-establishment of the Messenians, reduced us to the deplorable state in which we at present are. We have seen our power decline with our virtues.[t] The time is past when the nations who wished to recover their liberty demanded of Lacedæmon one only of her warriors to break their chains.[u]

Yet, as a last homage to our expiring laws, let us remark that, in other countries, corruption would have begun by enervating the mind; with us it has only manifested itself in great and violent passions; in ambition, vengeance, jealousy of power, and a rage for celebrity. It seems as if the vices dared not to approach us but with a kind of circumspection. The thirst of gold is not yet universal among all ranks, and the love of pleasure has as yet infected on a small number of individuals. More than

[q] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 460. [r] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 597. [s] Isocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 411. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 234. [t] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 344. Plut. in Num. t. i. p. 78. [u] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 690. Isocr. in Archid. p. 36. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 58.

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once we have seen our magistrates and generals[x] maintain our ancient discipline with vigour, and private citizens display virtues worthy of the most incorrupt ages.

Like to those people who, dwelling on the borders of two nations, have adopted and intermingled the languages and customs of both, the Spartans are placed at present on the frontiers of virtue and of vice. But we shall not long maintain this dangerous post. Every instant we perceive that an irresistible power drags us toward the bottom of the abyss. I myself am terrified when I reflect on the example I have this day given. What would Lycurgus have said, had he seen one of his pupils discourse, dispute, and employ the figures of oratory? Alas! I have lived too much with the Athenians; I am now only a degenerate Spartan.

[x] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 1. p. 443.

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CHAPTER LII.

*Journey through Arcadia.**

Some days after this conversation, we left Damonax, with a regret which he deigned to participate, and took the road to Arcadia.

We first passed the temple of Achilles, which is never opened, and near which the youth who engage in the platanistas, in the combats I have before mentioned, offer sacrifices. Farther on we saw seven columns, which, it is said, were formerly erected in honour of the seven planets. Continuing our journey, we arrived at the city of Pellana, and afterwards at that of Belmina, situate on the confines of Laconia and Arcadia.[y] Belmina is a place of strength, the possession of which has frequently been the occasion of disputes between the two nations. Its territory is watered by the Eurotas, and a number of streams which descend from the neighbouring mountains.[z] It stands at the entrance of a defile, which must be passed to arrive at Megalopolis, distant from Belmina ninety stadia,[a]† and about three hundred and forty‡ from Lacedæmon. During this

* See the map of Arcadia. [y] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 806. [z] Liv. lib. 38. c. 34. Pausan. lib. c. 21. p. 263. [a] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 35. p. 670. † Three leagues and a half. ‡ Near thirteen leagues.

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whole journey our pleasure was varied and heightened by our road passing sometimes by the side of impetuous and roaring torrents, and sometimes along the verdant banks of the peaceful waters of the Eurotas, the Thiuns, and the Alpheus.

Arcadia occupies the centre of Peloponnesus.—Raised above the countries which surround it,[b] it is full of mountains,[c] some of which are of a prodigious height,[d] and are almost all covered with forests, which contain a great number of fallow deer.[e] The plains are frequently intersected by rivers and streams. In certain places their too abundant waters, finding no outlet in the plain, suddenly precipitate themselves into profound gulfs, pursue their course for some time through subterraneous caverns, and at length burst forth, and again appear above the earth.[f]

Great labour has been employed to turn these streams through proper channels, but much yet remains to be done. By the side of fertile fields we saw others which frequent inundations condemn to perpetual sterility.[g] The former produce wheat and other grain in abundance;[h] on them are fed numerous flocks, for the pasturage is excellent, especially for asses and horses, of which animals the breeds of this country are in great estimation.[i]

[b] Aristot. Probl. § 26. t. ii. p. 806. [c] Strab. lib. 8. p. 388. [d] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 38. p. 679. Strab. ibid. [e] Pausan. ibid. c. 35. p. 671. [f] Aristot. Probl. § 26. t. ii. p. 806. Strab. lib. 8. p. 389. Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 7, 22, 23, 44 et 54. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 365. [g] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 7. p. 611. [h] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 552. [i] Strab. lib. 8. p. 388. Varro de Re Rustic. lib. 2. c. 1. § 14.

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Besides a great number of plants useful in medicine,[k] Arcadia produces almost all the known species of trees. The inhabitants, who have made a particular study of their nature and properties,[l] assign to the greater part of them appropriate names;[m] but it is easy to distinguish the pine, the fir,[n] the cypress,[o] the thya, the andrachne,[p] the poplar,[q] and a kind of cedar, the fruit of which does not ripen till the third year.[r] I omit many others which are equally common, as also the trees which are the ornament of gardens. We saw in a valley firs of a prodigious size and height, and were told that they owed their luxuriant growth to their happy situation, as they were not exposed either to the rage of the winds or the burning rays of the sun.[s] In a wood near Mantinea we were shown three kinds of oak,[t] one with large leaves, the phagus, and a third, the bark of which is so light that it swims on the surface of the water, and is used by fishermen to bear up their nets, and by pilots for buoys to their anchors.[u]

The Arcadians consider themselves as the children of the earth, because they have always dwelt in the same country, and never been subjected to any foreign

[k] Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 4. c. 6. p. 367. [l] Id. lib. 3. c. 6. p. 130; c. 7. p. 138; c. 10. p. 159. [m] Plin. lib. 16. c. 10. t. ii. p. 9. [n] Theophr. ibid. lib. 3. c. 10. p. 159. [o] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 41. p. 684. [p] Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 3. c. 6. p. 130. [q] Id. ibid. c. 5. p. 124. [r] Id. ibid. c. 12. p. 190. Plin. lib. 13. c. 5. t. i. p. 686. [s] Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 4. c. 1. p. 283. [t] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 9. p. 146. [u] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 12. p. 623.

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yoke.[x] They relate that having first taken up their abode on the mountains,[y] they learned by degrees to build huts, to clothe themselves with the skins of wild boars, and to prefer to wild, and frequently noxious herbs, the acorns of the phagus, on which they still fed within two or three centuries past.[z] What appears certain is, that, after having felt the necessity of uniting, they were still unacquainted with the charms of society. Their cold and inclement climate[a] gives vigour to their bodies, and harshness and asperity to their minds. To soften and humanise their stern and rugged dispositions, some sages of superior genius resolved to awaken in them new sensations, and inspire them with a taste for song and dance, for poetry and festivals. Never did the light of reason operate so speedy and general a revolution in manners; the effects it produced have remained till our time, because the Arcadians have never ceased to cultivate those arts which were so beneficial to their ancestors.

Habituated daily to sing during their repasts, it would be a shame to them to be ignorant of, or to neglect, music, which they are obliged to learn from their infancy, and during their youth. In the celebration of their festivals, and in their armies, their steps and evolutions are regulated by the sound of flutes.[b] The magistrates, persuaded that these enchanting arts can alone preserve the nation from the

[x] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 2. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 618. Plut. Quæst. Rom. t. ii. p. 286. [y] Strab. lib. 8. p. 333. [z] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 1. p. 599. [a] Aristot. Probl. § 26. t. ii. p. 806. [b] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 290. Athen. lib. 14. p. 626.

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influence of the climate, annually assemble their young pupils, and make them execute dances before them, that they may be enabled to judge of the proficiency they have made. The example of the Cynætheans justifies them in these precautions.—The people of this small tribe, confined to a narrow space in the north of Arcadia, in the midst of mountains, and beneath a brazen sky, have always refused to admit among them the seductive arts, and are become so ferocious and cruel, that their very name is not pronounced without fear.[c]

The Arcadians are humane, beneficent, observant of the laws of hospitality, patient of labour, and pertinacious in their enterprises, in defiance of obstacles and dangers.[d] They have often fought with success, and always with glory. In time of peace they enter for pay into the service of foreign powers, without preference or choice; so that they have been sometimes seen to espouse opposite parties, and bear arms against each other.[e] Notwithstanding this mercenary spirit, they are extremely jealous of their liberty. After the battle of Chæronea, gained by Philip king of Macedon, they refused to the conqueror the title of general in chief of the armies of Greece.[f]

Arcadia was anciently governed by kings, but afterwards divided into several republics, all of which have a right to send deputies to the general council.[g] Mantinea and Tegea are at the head of this confede-

[c] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 291.
[d] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 618.
[e] Thucyd. lib. 7. cap. 57. Hermipp. ap. Athen. lib. 1. page 27.
[f] Diod. Sic. lib. 17. p. 488.
[g] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 602.

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ration, which would be too formidable were all its forces united: for the country is extremely populous, and is reckoned to contain not less than three hundred thousand slaves.[h] But the jealousy of power continually occasions divisions between the great and lesser states. In our time, factions had become so numerous that a plan was laid before the assembly of the nation, in which, among other regulations, it was proposed that the power of determining on peace and war should be confided to a body of ten thousand men.[i] This project, which the new troubles that it occasioned caused to be laid aside, was again revived with more vigour after the battle of Leuctra. Epaminondas, who, to restrain the Spartans, had just recalled the exiled inhabitants of Messenia, proposed to the Arcadians to destroy the small towns which were without defence, and transfer the inhabitants to a place of strength, to be built on the frontiers of Laconia. He furnished them with a thousand men to carry his plan into execution, and the foundations of Megalopolis were immediately laid.[k] This happened about fifteen years before our arrival.

We were greatly astonished at the extensive circuit of the new city,[l] and the height of its walls flanked with towers.[m] It already gave umbrage to Lacedæmon, as I had perceived in a conversation which I had with king Archidamus, who some years after attacked

[h] Theoph. ap. Athen. lib. 6. c. 20. p. 271. [i] Demosth. de Fals. Legat. page 295. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 372. [k] Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 27. p. 654; lib. 9. cap. 14. p. 739. [l] Polyb. lib. 2. p. 140; lib. 5. p. 432. [m] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 27. p. 657.

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this rising colony, and ended by concluding a treaty with it.[n]

The great work of legislation next employed the attention of the citizens, who requested Plato to give them a code of laws. The philosopher was much pleased with so flattering a distinction; but having learned, both from the deputies of the city and one of his disciples whom he sent to Megalopolis, that the inhabitants would never consent to admit an equality of property, he determined not to comply with their solicitation.[o]

A small river, called the Hellison, divides the city into two parts, in both of which houses and public edifices have been built, and are still building. That to the north contains a forum, inclosed by a stone balustrade, and surrounded by sacred edifices and porticos. A superb brazen statue of Apollo, twelve feet high, has been erected facing the temple of Jupiter. This statue is a present from the Phigaleans, who contributed with pleasure to the embellishment of the new city.[p] Some private individuals have likewise done the same. One of the porticos bears the name of Aristander, who caused it to be built at his own expense.[q]

In the part to the south, we saw a spacious edifice, in which is held the assembly of the ten thousand deputies appointed to conduct the important affairs

[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 487. [o] Pamphil. ap. Diogen. Laërt. lib. 3. § 25. Plut. in Colot. t. ii. p. 1126. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. c. 42. [p] Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 30. p. 662. [q] Id. ibid. p. 663.

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of the state.[r] We were likewise shown, in a temple of Esculapius, bones of an extraordinary size, which were said to have been those of a giant.[s]

The city contains a great number of statues; among others we saw the work of two Athenian artists, Cephisodotus and Xenophon, consisting of a group, in which Jupiter is represented seated on a throne, with the city of Megalopolis on his right hand, and Diana Conservatrix on his left. The marble of which it is made is the production of the quarries of Mount Pentelicus, near Athens.[t]

I might enumerate many other things of the same kind; but, in the relation of my travels, I have always avoided speaking of that prodigious number of temples, altars, statues, and tombs, which we met with at every step in the cities, towns, roads, and even the most solitary places, through which we passed. I have also thought it most proper to omit the greater part of the prodigies and absurd fables of which we were fatigued with long recitals. The traveller who is condemned to hear them, ought to spare that pain to his readers. It would be in vain for him to attempt to reconcile the different traditions concerning the history of the gods and the most ancient heroes; his labours would only serve to increase the confusion of a chaos impenetrable to the light. It will be sufficient for him to observe in general, that, among different nations, the objects of public worship are

[r] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 621. Pausan. lib. 8. c. 32. p. 666.
[s] Pausan. ibid. p. 667. [t] Id. ibid. c. 30. p. 664.

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known under different names, the sacrifices offered to them accompanied by other rites, and their statues characterised by other attributes.

But he ought principally to direct his attention to those monuments which ascertain the taste, knowledge, or ignorance of an age; to describe festivals, because images of peace and joy cannot be too often presented to wretched mortals; and to relate those opinions or customs which may serve for example or instruction, even though he should leave the application of them to his reader. Thus, when I shall content myself with mentioning that, in a certain district of Arcadia, the Supreme Being is worshipped under the name of Good,[u] those who read my work will feel themselves invited to love the Author of all things; and when I shall add, that, in the same province, fanaticism has immolated human victims,[x] * they will shudder to perceive that superstition can occasion such horrors even among a people who adore God as sovereignly good. I return to my narrative.

We had determined to make the tour of Arcadia. This country is only a succession of those scenes in which nature has displayed the grandeur and fecundity of her ideas, and which she has negligently thrown together, without regard to the difference of their kinds. The powerful hand which has placed so many enormous and sterile rocks on their eternal

[u] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 36. p. 673. [x] Id. lib. 2. p. 600. Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 2. § 27. p. 150.

* See note IX. at the end of the volume.

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bases, has sportively interspersed at their feet, and in the intervals between them, charming meadows, the asylums of coolness and repose. Every where we behold picturesque situations, unexpected contrasts, and admirable effects.

How often when arrived at the summit of a lofty mountain, have we seen the lightning flash beneath our feet? How often, in the region of the clouds, have we beheld the resplendence of day change to a dim light, and the air become thick and agitated with violence, presenting a spectacle at once beautiful and terrifying? Those streams of vapour which passed rapidly beneath our eyes, and plunged down into the deep valleys below; those torrents of waters which, roaring, precipitated themselves to the bottom of the abyss; those huge masses of mountains which, through the thick fluid by which we were surrounded, appeared covered with a black veil; the melancholy cries of birds; and the plaintive murmur of the winds and the trees, seemed to present to us the image of the hell of Empedocles: such must be that ocean of obscure and whitish air which impels and repels the souls of the guilty, either through the plains of æther, or amid the globes interspersed in the wide expanse of space.[y]

We left Megalopolis, and, after having crossed the Alpheus proceeded to Lycosura, situate at the foot of Mount Lycæus, formerly called Olympus.[z] This country abounds in woods and fallow-deer. In

[y] Plut. de Vitand. Ære Alien. t. ii. p. 830.

[z] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 38. p. 678.

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the evening, our hosts wished to entertain us with an account of their city, which is the most ancient in the world; of their mountain, on which Jupiter was brought up; of the temple and festivals of that god; and especially of his priest, who, in time of drought, has power to bring down rain from heaven.[a] They afterwards told us of a hind which was still alive two centuries ago, and which they said had lived more than seven hundred years. It was taken some years before the war of Troy, and the date of the time when it was taken was inscribed on a collar which it wore. It was kept as a sacred animal in the enclosure appertaining to the temple.[b] Aristotle, to whom I one day mentioned this story, citing at the same time the authority of Hesiod, who attributes to the life of the stag a still longer duration,[c] did not seem to pay any regard to it, and observed to me, that the time of gestation of this animal, and that of the growth of the young stag, by no means indicated so long a life.[d]

The next day, having reached the top of Mount Lycæus, from whence almost the whole of Peloponnesus may be seen,[e] we were present at some games celebrated in honour of the god Pan, near a temple and small grove consecrated to him.[f] After the prize had been bestowed, we saw some young persons who followed with loud bursts of laughter all those whom

[a] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 38. p. 678. [b] Id. c. 10. p. 620. [c] Hesiod. ap. Plin. lib. 7. c. 48. p. 402. [d] Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 6. c. 29. t. i. p. 833. Buffon. Hist. Nat. t. vi. p. 93. [e] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 38. p. 679. [f] Id. ibid. p. 678.

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they met in their way.[g] * We saw others who struck the statue of the god with whips; they inflicted this punishment on him because a hunting, undertaken under his auspices, had not been sufficiently successful to furnish them with a meal.[h]

The Arcadians however are not the less attached to the worship of Pan. They have dedicated to him a great number of temples, statues, altars, and sacred groves,[i] and he is represented on their coin.* This god pursues the animals which are hurtful to the harvests; he wanders with pleasure on the mountains,[k] from whence he watches over the numerous flocks which feed in the plain;[l] and from the instrument with seven pipes, of which he is the inventor,[m] produces harmonious sounds, which re-echo through the neighbouring valleys.[n]

Pan formerly enjoyed still greater honours. He predicted future events in one of his temples, in which a lamp was kept burning day and night.[o] The Arcadians still maintain that he distributes to mortals, during their life, the rewards and punishments which they merit;[p] they place him, like the Egyptians, in the rank of their principal divinities,[q] and the name which they give him seems to signify that he extends

[g] Liv. lib. 1. c. 5. Plutarch. in Romul. t. 1. p. 31. * The Lupercalia at Rome derived their origin from this festival. [h] Theocr. Idyll. 7. v. 106. Schol. ibid. [i] Pausan. passim. * See the plate of coins. [k] Theocr. Idyll. 1. v. 123. Callim. in Dian. v. 88. [l] Pind. Olymp. 6. v. 169. Horat. lib. 4. od. 12. Virgil. Eclog. 2. v. 33. Georg. 1. v. 17. [m] Virg, Eclog. 2. v. 32. Eclog. 8. v. 24. [n] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 36. p. 674. [o] Id. c. 37. p. 677. [p] Id. ibid. [q] Id. lib. 8. c. 31. p. 664.

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his power over all material substance.[r] Notwithstanding these splendid titles, they at present limit his functions to the protection of hunters and shepherds.

Not far from his temple is that of Jupiter, in the middle of an enclosure which we were not allowed to enter.[s] We afterwards met with other sacred places, the entrance of which is forbidden to men, but permitted to women.[t]

We next proceeded to Phigalea, which is seated on a very steep rock, and may be seen at a considerable distance.[u] In the forum is a statue which may serve for the history of the arts. The feet are almost joined, and the pendent hands are fastened close to the sides and thighs;[x] for in this manner were statues formerly sculptured in Greece,[y] and thus they are still in Egypt. That we had now before our eyes was erected for the athleta Arrhachion, who gained one of the prizes in the 52d, 53d, and 54th Olympiads.* We may hence conclude that two centuries before our time many statuaries still servilely followed the Egyptian taste.†

To the right, and at the distance of thirty stadia‡ from the city, is Mount Elaius; to the left, and forty stadia § distant, Mount Cotylius. On the first is

[r] Macrob. Saturn. lib. 1. c. 22. [s] Plut. Quæst. Græc. t. ii. p. 300. Pausan. lib. 8. c. 38. p. 679. Hygin. Poet. Astronom. p. 426. [t] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 5. p. 608; c. 10. p. 618; c. 31. p. 665; c. 36. p. 673. [u] Id. c. 39. p. 681. [x] Id. c. 40. p. 682. [y] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 276. * In the years before Christ, 572, 568, 564. † See the observations on the origin and progress of sculpture in the account of Sicyon, in Chap. XXXVII. of this work. Vol. III. ‡ Somewhat above a league. § About a league and a half.

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seen the cave of Ceres, surnamed the Black, because that goddess, in despair for the loss of Proserpine, continued shut up in it a long time, wearing a mourning habit.[z] On the altar, at the entrance of the cave, are offered, not victims, but fruits, honey and raw wool.[a] In a town situate on the other mountain, we surveyed with astonishment a temple of Apollo; one of the most beautiful in Peloponnesus, as well from the choice of the stones of which the roof and walls are constructed, as from the happy harmony of all its parts. The name of the architect alone would suffice to ensure the fame of this edifice. It was built by the same Ictinus who, in the time of Pericles, erected the celebrated temple of Minerva.[b]

On our return from Phigalea we were present at a festival which was concluded by a grand entertainment, in which the slaves ate with their masters, and the highest praises were given to those who devoured the greatest quantity of eatables.[c]

The next day, returning by Lycosura, we passed the Alpheus, not far from Trapezus, and went to sleep at Gortys, the plains around which are fertilised by a river of the same name. During this whole day we met with merchants and travellers who were going to the little town of Aliphera, which lay to our left, and at which a fair was to be kept.[d] We did not follow them, because we had often been present

[z] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 42. p. 685. [a] Id. ibid. p. 688. [b] Id. ibid. cap. 41. p. 684. [c] Athen. lib. 4. cap. 13. p. 149. [d] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 26. p. 658.

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at similar scenes, and because we must have journeyed for a long time on the slope of a mountain surrounded by precipices.[e] Our guides forgot to conduct us into a valley which is in the neighbourhood of Trapezus. The earth there, they told us, vomits forth flames, near the fountain of Olympius, which remains dry one year out of two. They added, that this place was the scene of the battle between the gods and the giants, and that to preserve the memory of that dreadful contest, the inhabitants, on certain occasions, sacrifice to tempests, to lightning and the thunder.[f]

The poets have celebrated the pleasant coolness of the waters of the Cydnus in Cilicia, and of the Melas in Pamphylia; but those of the Gortynius deserve better their praises. The most severe cold never freezes them, and the greatest heats never alter their temperature.[g] They are most delightful, either to bathe in, or to drink.

Besides possessing that coolness which distinguishes the waters of Arcadia, those of the Ladon, which we passed the next day, are so pure and transparent that they are no where to be equalled.[h] Near the banks of this river, shaded by lofty poplars, we found a number of girls of the neighbouring country, dancing round a laurel, on which they had hung garlands of flowers. The youthful Clytia, accompanying her voice with her lyre, sang the loves of

[e] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 340. Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 26. p. 652.
[f] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 29. p. 660. [g] Pausan. c. 28. p. 659.
[h] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 25. p. 651.

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Daphne, the daughter of the Ladon, and Leucippus, the son of the king of Pisa.[i] No maid in Arcadia was so lovely as Daphne, no youth in Elis so beautiful as Leucippus. But how might it be possible to triumph over a heart which Diana had subjected to her laws, and which Apollo had not been able to vanquish? Leucippus bound his hair upon his head, clothed himself in a light tunic, threw a quiver over his shoulders, and, in this disguise, pursued with Daphne the deer and the roe-bucks of the plain. Their furtive loves could not escape the jealous eyes of Apollo, who informed the companions of Diana, and the unhappy Leucippus fell beneath their arrows. Clytia added that the nymph, unable to endure either the presence of the god, who obstinately continued his amorous pursuit, or the light which he dispensed to mortals, supplicated the earth to receive her into her bosom, and that she was metamorphosed into a laurel.*

We re-ascended the Ladon, and, turning to the left, took the road to Psophis,[k] through several villages, and through the wood of Soron, in which are found, as well as in the other forests of Arcadia, bears, wild boars, and very large tortoises, the shells of which are used to make lyres.[l]

Psophis is one of the most ancient cities of Pelo-

[i] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 20. p. 638. Philostr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 1. c. 16. p. 19. Schol. Homer. in Iliad. 1. v. 14. Geopon. lib. 11. c. 2. Serv. in Virg. Eclog. 3. v. 63. * The Thessalians affirm, that Daphne was the daughter of the Peneus, and that she was changed into a laurel on the banks of that river.
[k] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 23. p. 644. [l] Id. ibid.

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ponnesus; it is situate on the confines of Arcadia and Elis. A very high hill defends it from the north wind. To the east flows the river Erymanthus, which rises in a mountain of the same name, to which the inhabitants frequently resort to hunt wild boars and stags.[m] To the west is a deep bottom, into which a torrent falls, that afterwards continues its course toward the south, and loses itself in the Erymanthus.[n]

Our attention was principally engaged by two objects. We here saw the tomb of that Alcmæon, who, in obedience to the command of his father Amphiaraus, killed his mother Eriphyle, for which he was long pursued by the avenging furies, and at length wretchedly ended a life of dreadful agitation.

Near his tomb, which has no other ornament than some cypress trees of an extraordinary height,[o] we were shown a small field and a little cottage, where, some centuries since, lived a poor and virtuous man named Aglaus. Alike a stranger to wishes or to fears, unknown to men, and ignorant of what passed among them, he peaceably cultivated his little farm, the narrow boundaries of which he had never passed. He had arrived at an extreme old age, when embassadors from the powerful king of Lydia, Gyges, or Crœsus, were commissioned to inquire of the oracle of Delphi whether there existed on the face of the

[m] Homer. Odys. lib. 6. v. 103. [n] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 338.
[o] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 24. p. 646.

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whole earth a mortal more happy than that prince. The pythia replied, "Aglaus of Psophis."[p]

On our way from Psophis to Pheneos we heard mention made of several waters which possessed singular properties. The inhabitants of Clitor affirmed, that one of their springs inspires so great an aversion for wine, that those who drink of it are afterwards unable to endure even the smell of that liquor.[q] Farther on, toward the north, among the mountains, near the city of Nonacris, is a very lofty rock, from which incessantly flows a deadly water, which forms the river of the Styx. This is that Styx, so formidable to gods and men. It winds through a valley, to which the Arcadians resort to confirm their promise by the most inviolable of oaths;[r] but they never drink of it, however thirsty, nor does the shepherd ever lead his flocks to its banks. Its water, though limpid, and without odour, is mortal to all living creatures; they drop dead as soon as they have tasted it. It dissolves every kind of metal, and breaks every vessel which receives it, except those made of the hoof of certain animals.[s]

As the Cynætheans were then ravaging that

[p] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 24. p. 647. Plin. lib. 7. c. 46. t. i. p. 402. Val. Max. lib. 7. c. 1. [q] Eudox. ap. Steph. in Αζᾶν. Id. ap. Plin. lib. 31. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 549. Vitruv. lib. 8. cap. 3. p. 164. [r] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 74. [s] Vitruv. lib. 8. c. 3. p. 163. Var. ap. Solin. c. 7. Senec. Quæst. Natur. lib. 3. cap. 25. Plin. lib. 2. c. 103. t. i. p. 121; lib. 30. cap. 16. t. ii. p. 543; lib. 31. p. 550. Pausan. lib. 8. c. 18. p. 635. Eustath. in Iliad. t. i. p. 301; t. ii. p. 718; t. iii. p. 1667.

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country, we could not go thither to ascertain the truth of these reports. But having met on our road two deputies from a city of Achaia, who were journeying towards Pheneos, and who had more than once passed along that river, we inquired of them; and concluded from their answers that the greater part of the prodigies attributed to this famous stream would disappear on the slightest examination.

These were intelligent and well-informed persons, and we put to them several other questions. They showed us, toward the north-east, Mount Cyllene, which lifts its majestic head above all the mountains of Arcadia,[t] and whose perpendicular height may be estimated at fifteen or twenty stadia.[u] This is the only part of Greece in which is found a species of white blackbirds.[x] Mount Cyllene joins to Mount Stymphalus, at the foot of which we find a city, a lake, and a river of the same name. The city was formerly one of the most flourishing in Arcadia.[y] The river rises out of the lake, and, after having begun it course in this province, disappears, and terminates it under another name, in Argolis.[z] In our time, Iphicrates, at the head of the Athenian troops, formed a design to dam up every outlet of the river, that, its waters returning upon the lake, and thence inundating the city, which he ineffectually besieged, the

[t] Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 17. p. 633. [u] Strab. lib. 8. p. 388. [x] Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 9. cap. 19. tom. i. p. 934. [y] Pind. Olymp. 6. v. 169. [z] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 76. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 365. Pausan. lib. 8. c. 24. p. 166; lib. 8. c. 22. p. 640.

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inhabitants might be compelled to surrender at discretion; but after great labour, he was obliged to abandon his project.[a]

According to an ancient tradition, this lake was formerly covered with voracious birds, which infested the country. Hercules killed them with his arrows, or drove them away by the sound of certain instruments.[b] This exploit did honour to the hero, and bestowed celebrity on the lake. The birds returned no more, but they are still represented on the money of Stymphalus.[c] Such were the accounts given us by our travelling companions.

The city of Pheneos, though one of the principal in Arcadia, contains nothing remarkable; but the neighbouring plain presented to our curiosity one of the finest works of antiquity. Its date cannot be precisely ascertained; we only know that, in very remote ages, the torrents that rush from the mountains, by which the city is surrounded, entirely overwhelmed and destroyed the ancient Pheneos;[d] and that, to prevent a similar calamity from again happening, a canal was dug in the plain fifty stadia* in length, thirty feet† deep, and of proportionable breadth. It was intended to receive the waters of

[a] Strab. lib. 8. p. 389. [b] Apollon. Argon. lib. 8. v. 1057. Schol. ibid. Pausan. lib. 8. c. 22. p. 640. Strab. lib. 8. p. 371.
[c] See the coins published by Spanheim, Vaillant, and other antiquaries. [d] Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 14. p. 627. * Near three leagues. † A little more than twenty-eight French (or near thirty English) feet

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the river Olbius, and those of any extraordinary fall of rain. They were conducted to two caverns, which still subsist at the foot of the two mountains, under which Nature has opened for them secret passages.

These labours, which are attributed to Hercules, would appear to more advantage in the history of that hero, than his combat with the fabulous birds of Stymphalus. However this may be, the canal was gradually neglected;[e] and an earthquake having filled up the subterraneous passages by which the waters were carried off,[f] the inhabitants took refuge on the eminences, where they constructed wooden bridges to maintain a communication with each other; and, as the inundation increased from day to day, they were obliged successively to erect other bridges, higher than the former.[g]

Some time afterward[h] the waters opened themselves a passage under ground through the obstacles by which their course was stopped, and carried consternation through several provinces. The Ladon, that beautiful and peaceful river of which I have spoken, and which had ceased to flow since the obstruction of the subterranean channels,[i] had precipitated itself in impetuous torrents into the Alpheus, and inundated the territory of Olympia.[k] At Pheneos it was observed as a singularity, that the deal of which

[e] Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 14. p. 628. [f] Strab. lib. 8. p. 389. [g] Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 5. c. 5. p. 552. [h] Id. ibid. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 117. [i] Strab. lib. 1. p. 60. [k] Eratosth. ap. Strab. lib. 8. p. 389.

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the bridges had been made, after it had been stripped of its bark, had not rotted.[l]

From Pheneos we proceeded to Caphiæ, where we were shown, near a fountain, an old plane-tree, which bears the name of Menelaus, and which that prince is said to have planted himself before he went to the siege of Troy.[m] In a neighbouring village we saw a sacred grove, and a temple dedicated to Diana *the Strangled.* A respectable old man informed us of the origin of this strange epithet. Some children, said he, playing near the temple, found a cord, and, having put it about the statue, dragged it along, crying out, laughing, We strangle the goddess.—Some men, passing by at the time, felt such indignation at this sight, that they killed the children with stones. They imagined that they avenged the gods, but the gods avenged innocence. We experienced their anger; and the oracle being consulted, commanded us to erect a tomb to these unhappy victims, and annually to render them funeral honours.[o]

Further on we passed by the side of a large causeway, which the inhabitants of Caphyæ have constructed to defend themselves from a torrent and a lake which are in the territory of Orchomenus.[p] The latter city is situated on a mountain: we took a transient view of it; and were shown mirrors made of a

[l] Theophr. lib. 5. c. 5. p. 522. [m] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 23. p. 643. [n] Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 32. [o] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 23. p. 643. [p] Id. ibid. p. 462.

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blackish stone found in the environs.[q] We afterwards took one of the roads that led to Mantinea.[r]

Our guides stopped before a small hill, which is shown to strangers; and some Mantineans, who were walking in the environs, said to us; You have heard of Penelope, her griefs, her tears, and especially her fidelity; learn that she consoled herself for the absence of her husband with those lovers whom she had attracted to her; that Ulysses, on his return, drove her from his house, and that she here ended her days. This is her tomb.[s] Seeing us appear astonished, they added: You would have met with what is no less extraordinary on the other road. You would have seen, on the brow of a hill, a temple of Diana, in which is annually celebrated the festival of the goddess. It is common to the inhabitants of Orchomenus and Mantinea; the one maintain a priest, and the other a priestess, whose ministry is for life. Both are obliged to observe the most austere regimen. They may not visit. The use of the bath, and the most innocent comforts of life are forbidden them. They are alone, and have no avocations, yet are not the less restricted to the most rigid continence.[t]

Mantinea, formerly founded by the inhabitants of four or five of the neighbouring hamlets,[u] is distinguished by its populousness, its riches, and the monuments by which it is decorated.[x] It possesses

[q] Plin. lib. 37. c. 7. t. ii. p. 779. [r] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 12. p. 624. [s] Id. ibid. [t] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 13. p. 625. [u] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 553. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 331. Strab. lib. 8. p. 337. [x] Pausan. ibid. c. 9. p. 616.

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fertile fields,[y] and from it depart a considerable number of roads, which lead to the principal towns of Arcadia.[z] Among those into Argolis, there is one called the Road of the Ladder, because steps have been cut over a high mountain for the convenience of foot-passengers.[a]

The inhabitants of Mantinea, it is said, were the first who in their exercises combated man to man.[b] They were also the first who wore a military dress, and made use of a kind of armour, which has taken its name from their city.[c] They have always been considered as the bravest of all the Arcadians.[d] When, in the time of the Persian war, they did not arrive at Platea till after the battle, they testified the greatest regret, and, to punish themselves, would pursue into Thessaly a body of the Persians which had fled, and, on their return home, banished their generals, by whose delays they had been deprived of the honour of fighting.[e] In the wars which have since happened, the Lacedæmonians dreaded them when enemies, and esteemed themselves fortunate when they could obtain their alliance.[f] United by turns with Athens, with Sparta, and other foreign powers, they have been seen to extend their dominion over almost the whole province,[g] and afterwards to be unable to defend their own frontiers.

[y] Xen. ibid. p. 552. [z] Pausan. ibid. c. 10. p. 618. [a] Id. ibid. c. 6. p. 610. [b] Hermipp. ap. Athen. lib. 4. c. 13. p. 154. [c] Ephor. ap. Athen. lib. 4. c. 13. p. 154. [d] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 336. [e] Herodot. lib. 9. c. 76. [f] Diod. Sic. ibid. [g] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 29.

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A short time before the battle of Leuctra, the Lacedæmonians besieged Mantinea; and, as the siege continued a long time, they turned against the brick walls, by which the city was defended, the river which flows in the environs. The walls were thrown down, the city almost entirely destroyed, and the inhabitants dispersed in the villages which they had formerly occupied.[h] Mantinea soon after arose from her ruins with new splendor, and did not blush to unite with Lacedæmon, and to declare against Epaminondas, to whom in part she had owed her liberty.[i] Since that time the city has been continually agitated by foreign wars, or distracted by intestine factions. Such, indeed, in these latter times, has been the fate of almost all the cities of Greece, especially those in which the people exercise the supreme power.

This form of government has always subsisted at Mantinea; the first legislators modified it to prevent the dangers to which it is exposed. All the citizens have the right to give their opinion and vote in the general assembly, but only a small number may be appointed to the offices of magistracy.[k] The other parts of the constitution were regulated with so much wisdom, that it is still cited as a model.[l] At present the demiurgi, or tribunes of the people, exercise the principal functions, and sign their names to the public acts before the senators and the other magistrates.[m]

[h] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 552. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 331. et 336. Pausan. lib. 8. c. 8. p. 615. [i] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 602. Pausan. lib. 8. c. 8. p. 615. [k] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 6. c. 4. t. ii. p. 416. [l] Polyb. lib. 6. p. 487. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. c. 22. [m] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 47.

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At Mantinea we became acquainted with an Arcadian named Antiochus, who some years before had been one of the deputies which several cities of Greece had sent to the king of Persia to discuss in his presence their mutual interests. Antiochus spoke in the name of his nation, and was not well received; when he returned he thus addressed the assembly of the ten thousand: I have seen in the palace of Artaxerxes a great number of bakers, cooks, cup-bearers, and porters; I have sought in his empire for soldiers, which might oppose ours, but have found none. All that is said of his riches is mere boasting, as you may judge from the golden plane tree of which so much has been said; it is so small, that its shadow would not be sufficient to cover a grasshopper.[n]

As we went from Mantinea to Tegea, we had our right Mount Mænalus, and on our left an extensive forest,[o] in the plain between which was fought, some years since, that battle in which Epaminondas gained the victory and lost his life. Two monuments have been raised to him, a trophy,[p] and a tomb.[q] They are near to each other, as if their places had been assigned them by philosophy.

The tomb of Epaminondas consists of a simple column, on which is suspended a buckler; that buckler which I had so often seen in his chamber, over his bed, upon the wall, or above the seat in which the hero usually sat. These local circumstances suddenly

[n] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 621. [o] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 11. p. 620. [p] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 396. [q] Pausan. ibid. p. 622.

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recurring to my mind, with the remembrance of his virtues, his benevolence, of an expression which he had used on such an occasion, a smile which had escaped him on such another, and a thousand minute particulars with which grief loves to nourish its melancholy, and all combining with the insupportable idea, that of this great man now only remained a heap of dry bones which the earth incessantly corroded, I was seized with an emotion so violent and painful that I was forced to tear myself from an object which I could neither look on nor leave. I was then alive to sensibility, but now am so no longer, as the feebleness of my language too plainly evinces.

I shall at least have the consolation here to add a new ray to the glory of this great man. Three cities dispute the trifling honour of having given birth to the soldier from whom he received his mortal wound. The Athenians assert that he fell by the hand of Gryllus the son of Xenophon, and have required that the painter Euphranor in one of his pictures should adopt their opinion.[r] According to the Mantineans, he was killed by Machærion, a countryman of theirs;[s] and according to the Lacedæmonians, by the Spartan Anticrates, to whose posterity they even granted honours and exemptions:[t] extravagant distinctions, which sufficiently prove how much they dreaded Epaminondas.

Tegea is only about an hundred stadia from Man-

[r] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 11. p. 621; lib 9. c. 15. p. 741. [s] Id. ibid. p. 621. [t] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 616.

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tinea.* These two cities, rivals and enemies from their proximity,[u] have more than once engaged in bloody disputes;[x] and, in the wars which have divided nations, have almost always taken different sides.[y] At the battle of Platæa, which terminated the great quarrel between Greece and Persia, the Tegeatæ, who amounted to the number of fifteen hundred,[z] disputed with the Athenians the honour of commanding one of the wings of the Grecian army.[a] They did not obtain their claim to be allowed, but they proved that they deserved it by the most gallant behaviour.[b]

Each city in Greece is under the special protection of a divinity. Tegea has chosen for its tutelary deity Minerva, surnamed Alea. The ancient temple having been burnt a few years after the Peloponnesian war, a new one was built, after the designs, and under the direction of Scopas of Paros, the same artist who has produced so many noble statues. He employed the Ionic order in the peristyles which surround the temple. On the pediment in front he has represented the hunting of the wild boar of Calydon; it contains a number of figures, among others those of Hercules, Theseus, Perithous, and Castor. The subject on the other pediment is the combat of Achilles and Telephus. The temple is divided into three aisles by two ranges of columns, of the Doric

* About three leagues and three quarters. [u] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 62 et 65. [x] Id. lib. 4. p. 134. [y] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 391. [z] Herodot. lib. 9. c. 28 et 29. [a] Id. ibid. cap. 26. [b] Id. ibid. c. 70.

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order, above which is another of the Corinthian, which rise to and support the roof.[c]

To the walls are suspended chains, which, in some of their ancient expeditions, the Lacedæmonians had prepared for the Tegeatæ, but with which they were themselves loaded.[d] It is said that in the battle the women of Tegea, having placed themselves in ambuscade, fell upon the enemy and decided the victory. A widow named Marpessa distinguished herself in such a manner on this occasion, that her armour is still preserved in the temple.[e] Close to it are seen the tusks and skin of the Calydonian boar, which were allotted to the beautiful Atlanta of Tegea, who gave the ferocious animal the first wound.[f] Lastly, we were shown a brazen manger, which the Tegeatæ, after the battle of Platæa, carried off from the stables of the general of the Persians.[g] Such spoils gratify the vanity of a people, and sometimes act as motives to emulation.

In this temple, which is the most beautiful of any in Peloponnesus,[h] a young girl officiates as priestess, who resigns her sacred functions as soon as she arrives at the age of puberty.[i]

We saw another temple, into which the priest only enters once in the year;[k] and in the forum remarked two great columns, the one of which supports the

[c] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 45. p. 698. [d] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 66. [e] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 47. p. 695; c. 48. p. 697. [f] Id. ibid. c. 45, 46, et 47. [g] Herodot. lib. 9. c. 70. [h] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 45. p. 693. [i] Id. ibid. c. 47. p. 695. [k] Id. ibid. c. 48. p. 696.

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statues of the legislators of Tegea, and the other the equestrian statue of a private individual who gained the prize at the horse races at the Olympic games.[1] The inhabitants have decreed them all the same honours, but we surely ought not to believe that they hold them in the same esteem.

[1] Pausan lib. 8. c. 48. p. 696.

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CHAPTER LIII.

*Journey through Argolis.**

From Tegea we entered Argolis by a defile which passes between some high mountains.[m] As we approached the sea, we saw the marsh of Lerna, formerly the haunt of that monstrous hydra which Hercules slew. From thence we took the road to Argos, through a beautiful meadow.[n]

Argolis, as well as Arcadia, is intersected with hills and mountains, which have valleys and fertile plains in the intervals between them. These admirable irregularities no longer excited our surprise, but our attention was greatly interested from another motive. This province was the cradle of the Greeks, since it first received the foreign colonies by whom they were civilised.[o] It became the theatre of the greater part of events recorded in the ancient annals of Greece. There was it that Inachus appeared, who gave his name to the river which waters the territory of Argos; there also lived Danaus, Hypermnestra, Lynceus, Alcmæon, Perseus, Amphitryon, Pelops, Atreus, Thyestes, Agamemnon, and so many other celebrated heroes and heroines.

* See the map of Argolis. [m] Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 6. p. 610. [n] Fourm. Voyage Manuscr. de l'Argolide. [o] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 24.

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Their names, which have been so often read with delight in the writings of the poets, and heard with ecstacy from the stage, make the stronger impression on the mind, as the heroes themselves seem again to live in the festivals and monuments consecrated to their memory. The view of the places which were the scenes of their illustrious deeds carries us back to the times in which they lived, realises fiction, and gives animation to the most insensible objects. At Argos, amid the ruins of a subterraneous palace, in which it is said king Acrisius confined his daughter Danaë,[p] I seemed to myself to hear the complaints of that unhappy princess. On the road from Hermione to Trœzen, I imagined that I beheld Theseus raising the enormous rock beneath which were deposited the sword and other tokens by which he was to be recognised by his father.[q] These illusions are a homage which we render to celebrity, and give new force to the imagination, which has more frequently need of such supports than reason.

Argos is situate at the foot of a hill, on which stands the citadel.[r] It is one of the most ancient cities of Greece,[s] and from the earliest ages possessed such power and splendor that its name was sometimes given to the province, to the whole of Peloponnesus, and even to all Greece.[t] The house of the Pelopidæ

[p] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 23. p. 164. Apollod. lib. 2. p. 89. [q] Plut. in Thes. t. i. p. 3. Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 27. p. 66; lib. 2. p. 188 et 192. [r] Strab. lib. 8. p. 370. Liv. lib. 32. cap. 25. [s] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 24. [t] Strab. lib. 8. p. 369. Schol. Pind. in Isthm. od. 2. v. 17. Plut. Quæst. Roman. t. ii. p. 272. Apollod. lib. 2. p. 75.

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having established itself at Mycenæ, that city eclipsed the glory of her rival.[u] Agamemnon reigned in the former city, and Diomedes and Sthenelus in the latter.[x] Some time after, Argos regained its rank,[y] which it never afterwards lost.

The sovereign power was at first confided to kings, who oppressed their subjects, and who were soon only left in possession of that title which they had abused.[z]

The title itself was afterwards abolished, and a democracy has subsisted ever since.[a] The affairs of the state are discussed in a senate, before they are submitted to the decision of the people;[b] but as the senate cannot take on itself the executive power, eighty of its members continually watch over the safety of the state, with nearly the same functions as the prytanes of Athens.[c] More than once, and even in our time, the principal citizens have endeavoured to free themselves from the tyranny of the multitude by establishing an oligarchy; but these attempts have answered no other purpose than to occasion an effusion of blood.[d]

They still felt the effects of a fruitless attempt of this kind which they had made about fourteen years before. Wearied with the continual calamities and

[u] Strab. lib. 8. p. 372. [x] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 564. [y] Strab. ibid. [z] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 43. Pausan. lib. 2. c. 19. p. 152. [a] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 28, 31, et 41. [b] Herod. lib. 7. c. 148. Thucyd. ibid. c. 37. [c] Id. ibid. c. 47. Diod. Sic. lib. 19. [d] Thucyd. ib. c. 76, 81, 82. Diod Sic. lib. 15. p. 372.

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reproaches of the public orators, they engaged in a project to change the form of government. Their design was discovered, and many of them were apprehended. When brought to the torture, some killed themselves; and one of them accused thirty of his ascociates, who were put to death without further trial. Their property was confiscated; informations multiplied, and to be accused was to be found guilty. Sixteen hundred of the richest of the citizens were massacred; and as the orators, through fear of a new order of things, began to relax in their zeal, the people, conceiving they had deserted them, sacrificed them all to their fury. No city of Greece had seen within its walls the example of such barbarity; and the Athenians, having heard the account of it in one of their assemblies, thought themselves so polluted by only listening to the horrid narrative, that they immediately had recourse to the ceremonies of expiation.[e]

The Argives are renowned for their bravery; they have had frequent disputes with the neighbouring nations, and have never feared to enter the lists with the Lacedæmonians,[f] who have often sought their alliance.[g]

We have already said, that the first period of their history is resplendent with illustrious names and shining achievements. In the latter, after they had conceived the hope of obtaining the sovereignty of

[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 372. Plut. de Reip. Ger Præc. t. ii. p. 804. Hellad. ap. Phot. p. 1593. [f] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 77. [g] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 36.

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all Peloponnesus,[h] they became enfeebled by unfortunate expeditions and intestine dissensions.

Like the Arcadians, they have neglected the sciences and cultivated the arts. Before the expedition of Xerxes, they were more versed in music than the other people of Greece.[i] They were for some time so much attached to its ancient simplicity, that they imposed a fine on a musician who had dared to present himself to the competition with a lyre having more than seven strings, and to perform in modes which they had not adopted.[ii] Among the musicians born in this province, the most distinguished were Lasus,[k] Sacadas,[l] and Aristonicus;[m] among the sculptors, Ageladas,[n] and Polycletus;[o] among the poets, Telesilla.

The three former contributed greatly to the progress and improvement of music, as did Ageladas and Polycletus to that of sculpture. The latter, who lived about the time of Pericles, has filled Peloponnesus and all Greece with his immortal works. In adding new beauties to human nature, he surpassed Phidias; but in presenting to us the image of divinity, he never rose to the sublimity of the ideas of his rival.[p] He chose his models from youth and infancy, but old age seemed to embarrass those hands which were accus-

[h] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 28. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 123. [i] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 131. [ii] Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1144. [k] Id. ibid. p. 1141. [l] Id. ibid. p. 1134. [m] Athen. lib. 14. p. 637. [n] Pausan. lib. 6. c. 8. p. 472; c. 14. p. 487. [o] Plut. in Protag. t. i. p. 311. Anthol. Græc. lib. 4. p. 333. [p] Quintil. Instit. Orat. lib. 12. c. 10. p. 744.

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tomed to represent the graces. This species of composition accommodates itself so easily to a certain negligence, that Polycletus merits peculiar praise for having rigorously confined himself to correctness of design. In fact, there is a figure by him, in which the proportions of the human body are so accurately observed, that it has been called the canon or rule,[q] by the unanimous consent of artists who study it whenever they have to represent the same nature in the same circumstances, for it is impossible to form a single model which shall suit all ages, sexes, and characters[r] If Polycletus be charged with some errors, it may be said in reply, that if he did not attain, he at least approached near to, perfection.[s] He himself seems to have doubted his own success. At a time when other artists inscribed on their works, *Such a one has made it* (Εποίει), he contented himself with writing on his, *Polycletus was making it* (Εποίησε); as if to finish what he had begun he waited the judgment of the public.[t]

He listened to advice, and knew how to appreciate its value. He made two statues of the same subject, on one of which he worked in private, consulting only his own genius, and the rules of his art, which he had carefully considered; the other he sculptured in his shop, into which every one who chose might enter, correcting and amending it ac-

[q] Plin. lib. 34. cap. 8. tom. ii. page 650. Jun. de Pict. p. 168.
[r] Mem. de l'Acad. des. Bell. Lettr. t. xxv. p. 303. Œuvr. de Falcoun. t. iii. p. 87. [s] Cicer. de Clar. Orat. c. 18. t. i. p. 351.
[t] Plin. lib 1. t. i. p. 5.

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cording to the opinion of as many as were pleased to bestow their advice. As soon as both were finished he exhibited them to the public. The first was received with universal admiration; but at the second every body laughed aloud; upon which he said, That you laugh at is your work, the other is mine.[u] Another anecdote will prove to what celebrity he had attained in his life-time. Hipponicus, one of the principal citizens of Athens, intending to consecrate a statue to his country, was advised to employ the chisel of Polycletus. No, replied he, the honour of my offering would then be wholly engrossed by the artist.[x] We shall see below that his fertile genius employed itself with no less success in architecture.

Telesilla, who flourished about a hundred and fifty years ago, rendered her country illustrious by her writings, and saved it by her courage. The city of Argos was upon the point of falling into the hands of the Lacedæmonians. It had lost six thousand men, among which was the flower of its youth.[y] Telesilla collected the women most proper to second her designs, furnished them with arms, which she procured from the temples or from the houses of individuals, placed herself with them on the walls, and repulsed the enemy, who, through fear of being reproached either with defeat or victory, retired from before the city.[z]

[u] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 14. c. 8. [x] Id. ibid. c. 16. [y] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 76; lib. 7. c. 148. [z] Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 20. p. 157. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 7. c. 33. Lucian. in Amor. t. ii. p. 431. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 4. p. 618. Suid. in Τελεσίλ.

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The most signal honours were rendered to these female warriors. Those who fell in the battle were buried by the side of the road to Argos; others were permitted to erect a statue to the god Mars.[a] The figure of Telesilla was placed on a column, in front of the temple of Venus. Far from designing to cast her eyes on the volumes represented at her feet, she appears to fix them with complacence on a helmet which she holds in her hand, and is about to put upon her head.[b] Lastly, to perpetuate the remembrance of so extraordinary an event, an annual festival was instituted, in which the women wear the habit of men, and the men the dress of women.[c]

In this city, as in all the others of Greece, the productions of the arts are very common, but their master-pieces extremely rare. Among the latter it may suffice to name several statues by Polycletus and Praxiteles.[d] The following objects engaged our attention from other reasons.

We saw the tomb of a daughter of Perseus, who, after the death of her first husband, married Œbalus, king of Sparta. The Argive women before that time had never dared to contract a second marriage.[e]—This event is of the highest antiquity.

We saw a group, representing Perilaus of Argos, about to put to death the Spartan Othryadas.[f] The Lacedæmonians and Argives disputed the possession

[a] Plut. de Virt. Mul. t. ii. p. 245. [b] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 20. p. 157. [c] Plut. de Virt. Mul. t. ii. p. 245. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 8. c. 33. [d] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 20. p. 154; c. 21. p. 160. [e] Id. ibid. c. 21. p. 159. [f] Id. ibid. c. 20. p. 156.

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of the city of Thyrea. It was agreed that each state should name three hundred warriors, by a combat between whom their differences should be finally decided. They all fell, except two Argives, who, thinking themselves incontestably victors, hastened to carry the news to the magistrates of Argos. Othryadas, however, still breathed, and notwithstanding his mortal wounds, had strength enough left to erect a trophy on the field of battle, on which he traced with his blood these words, "The Lacedæmonians conquerors of the Argives;" and then hastened his own death, that he might not longer survive his companions.[g]

The Argives are persuaded that Apollo manifests future events in one of his temples. Once a month the priestess, who must observe the strictest continence, sacrifices a sheep during the night, and, as soon as she has tasted of the blood of the victim, is inspired with the spirit of prophecy.[h]

We saw the women of Argos assemble during several successive days in a kind of chapel, adjoining to the temple of Jupiter Saviour,[i] to weep for Adonis. I could have wished to have said to them what philosophers have remarked on similar occasions: "Why should you weep for him if he is a god, or offer sacrifices to him if he is not?"[k]

[g] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 20. p. 156. Cryserm. ap. Plut. in Parall. t. ii. p. 306. Suid. in Οθρυάδ. Stat. Theb. lib. 4. v. 43. Lact. ibid. Stob. Serm. 7. p. 92. [h] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 24. p. 165. [i] Pausan. ibid. c. 20. p. 156. [k] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228. Id. in Isid. p. 379.

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At the distance of forty stadia* from Argos[l] is the temple of Juno, one of the most celebrated in Greece,[m] formerly common to that city and Mycenæ.[n] The old one was burnt not a century since by the negligence of the priestess Chrysis, who had forgotten to extinguish a lamp placed in the midst of the sacred fillets.[o] The new one, built at the foot of Mount Eubœa, attests the progress of the arts, and will eternise the name of the architect Eupolemus of Argos.

That of Polycletus will be still more celebrated from the works with which he has decorated this temple,[p] and especially the statue of Juno, of almost colossal size. The goddess appears seated on a throne with a crown on her head, on which are engraven the Hours and the Graces. She holds in her right hand a pomegranate; a mysterious symbol which is not explained to the profane: in her left is a sceptre, on the top of which is the figure of a cuckoo, a singular attribute that has given birth to many puerile stories. While we were admiring the workmanship, worthy of the rival of Phidias, and the richness of the materials, which are of gold and ivory, Philotas showed me, laughing, a mishapen figure, in a sitting posture, made of the trunk of a wild pear-tree, and covered with dust. That, said

* About a league and a half. [l] Strab. lib. 8. p. 368. [m] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 17. p. 147. [n] Strab. lib. 8. p. 372. [o] Thucyd. lib. 4. c. 133. Pausan. lib. 2. c. 17. p. 148. [p] Pausan. ibid. p. 147. [q] Strab. lib. 8. p. 372.

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he, is the most ancient statue of Juno;[r] after having long received the worship of mortals, it experiences the lot of old age and poverty; it is thrown into a corner of the temple, where no one addresses to it either prayers or vows.

The magistrates of Argos repair to the altar of this temple to bind themselves by oath to observe their treaties of peace; but strangers are not permitted to offer sacrifices on it.[s]

The temple, from its foundation, has been served by a priestess, who is obliged, among other things, to abstain from certain fish.[t] A statue is erected to her during her life-time;[u] and after her death her name, and the time during which she exercised the priesthood, is inscribed on it. This range of statues, placed in front of the temple, with those of different heroes,[x] furnishes a succession of dates which historians sometimes employ to ascertain and fix the order of time.[y]

In the list of the priestesses we found several illustrious names, as those of Hypermnestra, daughter of Danaus; Admeta, daughter of king Eurystheus;[z] and Cydippe, who owed her glory less to her ancestors than to her children. They related to us her history during the celebration of the festival of Juno. The

[r] Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 17. p. 148. [s] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 81. [t] Plut. de Solert. Animal. t. ii. p. 983. [u] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 17. p. 149. [x] Pausan. ibid. p. 148. [y] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 2. Schol. ibid. Hellan. ap. Dionys. Halic. Ant. Rom. lib. 1. t. i. p. 181. Excerpt. Polyb. p. 50. Meurs. de Archont. Athen. lib. 3. c. 6. [z] Marsh. Chron. Can. p. 127. Freret, Defens. de la Chronol. p. 75.

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day of that festival, which assembles together an innumerable concourse of spectators, is especially distinguished by a solemn procession, that proceeds from Argos to the temple of the goddess. It opens with a hundred oxen, adorned with garlands, which are to be sacrificed, and distributed to the people.[a] A body of youthful Argives march as guards, in shining armour, which they put off from respect before they approach the altar;[b] and the procession is closed by the priestess, who appears in a chariot drawn by two beautiful white oxen.[c] It happened, when Cydippe was priestess, that when the procession had filed off, the oxen had not yet arrived; upon which Biton and Cleobis yoked themselves to the chariot of their mother, and drew her, in triumph, the distance of forty-five stadia,* through the plain, and to near the middle of the mountain, to the place where the temple then stood.[d] Cydippe arrived there amid the shouts and plaudits of the people; and in the transports of her joy supplicated the goddess to grant to her sons the greatest good which could be bestowed on mortals. Her prayers, it is said, were heard; a gentle sleep fell on the two youths, in the temple itself; and they tranquilly passed from life to death:[e] as if the greatest blessing

[a] Schol. Pind. in Olymp. 7. v. 152. [b] Ænas. Poliorc. c. 17. p. 13. [c] Palæphat. de Incredib. c. 51. * About a league and three quarters. [d] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 17. p. 148. [e] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 31. Axioch. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 367. Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 1. c. 47. t. ii. p. 273. Valer. Maxim. lib. 5. c. 4. extern. 4. Stob. Serm. 16. p. 603. Serv. et Philarg. in Virg. Georg. lib. 3. v. 532.

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which the gods can grant to man were to shorten his days.

Examples of filial piety are certainly not rare in great nations, but the memory of them is preserved with difficulty in the family in which they have been produced; whereas, in Greece, a whole city appropriates them to itself, and eternises them as no less honourable to it than victories over an enemy. The Argives sent to Delphi the statues of these generous brothers;[f] and in one of their temples I have seen them represented harnessed to the chariot of their mother.[g]

We had seen the illustrious reward which the Greeks had bestowed on the virtues of individuals; and we afterwards saw, at the distance of fifteen stadia from the temple,[h] to what excesses they have been hurried by the jealousy of power. Some ruins, among which the tombs of Atreus, Agamemnon, Orestes, and Electra, are with difficulty distinguished, all are that remains of the ancient and famous city of Mycenæ, which was destroyed by the Argives about a century and a half ago.[i] Its crime was, that it had refused to bend beneath the yoke they had imposed on almost all Argolis, and that in contempt of their commands it had joined its forces to those which Greece had assembled against the Persians.[k] The unfortunate inhabitants wandered in different countries, and the greater part only found an asylum in Macedonia.[l]

[f] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 31. [g] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 20. p. 155. [h] Id. ibid. c. 17. p. 147. [i] Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. p. 49. Strab. lib. 8. p. 372. [k] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 16. p. 146. [l] Id. lib. 7. c. 25. p. 589.

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The history of Greece presents us with more than one example of these dreadful emigrations, which ought not to excite our surprise. The greater part of the districts of Greece at first contained a number of independent republics, some subject to aristocracy, others governed by a democracy, and all of which easily obtained the protection and assistance of the neighbouring powers whose interest it was to divide them.[m] In vain they endeavoured to unite together, by a general confederation; the most powerful, after having subjected the weaker, disputed the sovereignty with each other, and not unfrequently one among them, raising itself above the rest, exercised a real despotism under the specious forms of liberty. Hence those ancient hatreds and national wars which for so long a time have laid waste Thessaly, Bœotia, Arcadia, and Argolis. These have never desolated Attica and Laconia; not the former, because its inhabitants live under the same laws, like citizens of the same city; not the latter, because the people of that country have been always held in subjection by the active vigilance of the magistrates of Sparta, and the known valour of the Spartans.

I am not ignorant that the infractions of treaties, and offences committed against the laws of nations, have been sometimes brought before the assembly of the Amphictyons, instituted from the earliest ages among the northern states of Greece. I know also that many cities of Argolis established among them-

[m] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 35 et. 40.

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selves a similar tribunal;[n] but these councils, which only took cognisance of certain causes, either did not extend their jurisdiction over all Greece, or never possessed sufficient power to enforce the execution of their decrees.

On our return to Argos we went up to the citadel, where we saw, in the temple of Minerva, a statue of Jupiter, which, as we are told, was formerly preserved in the Palace of Priam. It has three eyes, one of which is in the middle of the forehead; either to signify that this god reigns equally in the heavens, over the sea, and in the infernal shades;[o] or to denote that he beholds the past, the present, and the future.

We departed for Tiryns, distant from Argos about fifty stadia.* Of this very ancient city[p] nothing now remains but the walls, which are about twenty feet thick,[q] and of a proportionable height. They are constructed of huge stones, laid one upon another, the least of which is of such a prodigious size that two mules could scarcely draw it. As they are not cut, lesser stones have been employed to fill the interstices left by the irregularity of their shape.[r] These walls have subsisted during a long series of ages, and will, perhaps, excite the admiration and astonishment of posterity for thousands of years to come.[s]

The same kind of labour may be remarked in the ancient monuments of Argolis, and particularly in the

[n] Strab. lib. 8. p. 374. [o] Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 24. p. 166.
* About two leagues and a half. [p] Pausan. ibid. c. 15. p. 145.
[q] Voyag. de Des Mouceaux, p. 473. [r] Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 25. p. 169. [s] Id. lib. 9. cap. 36. p. 983. Des Mouceaux, p. 473.

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half-destroyed walls of Mycenæ,[t] and the vast excavations which are seen near the port of Nauplia,[u] situated at a little distance from Tiryns.

All these works are attributed to the Cyclops,[x] whose name naturally awakens ideas of greatness; since it was given by the most ancient poets, sometimes to giants,[y] and sometimes to those children of heaven and earth who were employed to forge the thunderbolts of Jupiter.[z] It was imagined that these gigantic constructions could not be the work of ordinary mortals. It doubtless had not been remarked that men, in the earliest ages, when they formed themselves dwellings, laboured more for solidity than elegance; and that they employed the most powerful means with which they were acquainted to ensure a long duration to indispensable labours. They hollowed in the rock deep caverns, for a place of refuge during their lives, or to receive their bodies after death. They detached huge fragments from the mountains, and with them surrounded their habitations. They thus displayed their strength, and triumphed over obstacles. They then laboured after the plan of nature, all whose works are simple, necessary, and durable. The exact proportions and beautiful forms since introduced in the productions of

[t] Eurip. in Hercul. Fur. v. 944. Pausan. lib. 7. c. 25. p. 589. Hesych. in Κυκλώπ. [u] Strab. lib. 8. page 373. [x] Eurip. in Orest. v. 963; in Iphig. in Aul. v. 152 et 1501; in Elect. v. 1158; in Hercul. Fur. v. 15. Strab. lib. 8. p. 373. Pausan. lib. 7. c. 25. p. 589. Eustath. in Iliad. p. 286. Stat. Theb. lib. 1. v. 251. [y] Homer. Odyss. lib. 2. Bochart. Geograph. Sacr. lib. 1. c. 30. [z] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxiii. Hist. p. 28.

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art, make more agreeable, but I doubt whether they leave such profound impressions on the mind. Even in those which have most claim to public admiration, and raise their heads majestically above the earth, the hand of art conceals that of nature, and magnificence only is substituted for grandeur.

We were told at Tiryns that the Argives, exhausted by long wars, had destroyed Tiryns, Midea, Hysia, and some other cities, to remove their inhabitants to Argos.[a] Philotas regretted that he could not find here any of the ancient Tirynthians; and when I inquired his reason, It is not, replied he, because they are as fond of wine as the other inhabitants of this country,[b] but because their humour would have amused me. I will relate to you what I have heard from an Argive.

They had contracted such a habit of jesting on every occasion, that they were no longer able to discuss seriously the most important affairs. Wearied at length with their own levity, they had recourse to the oracle of Delphi, which assured them they would be cured if, after having sacrificed a bull to Neptune, they should be able, without laughing, to throw it into the sea. It was manifest, that the constraint imposed on them would prevent them from being able to comply with the condition required. They however assembled on the sea-shore, and carefully removed all the children; but as they were endeavouring to drive away one who had privately come in among them,

[a] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 27. p. 653. [b] Athen. lib. 10. c. 12. p. 438.

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he called out to them, "What, are you afraid I should swallow your bull?" On which they all burst into a loud laugh, and, being persuaded that their malady was incurable, quietly submitted to their lot.[c]

We left Tiryns, and, proceeding towards the extremity of Argolis, visited Hermione and Trœzen. In the former we saw, among other things, a small grove consecrated to the Graces; a temple of Venus, in which all the maidens of the place before they are married must offer a sacrifice;[d] and a temple of Ceres, before which are the statues of some of the priestesses. A festival is here celebrated in the summer, the principal ceremony of which I shall briefly describe.

At the head of the procession appear the priests of different divinities, and the magistrates in office: they are followed by women, men, and children, all clothed in white, crowned with flowers, and singing hymns. Next come four heifers, which are driven one after the other into the people, and successively sacrificed by four matrons. These victims, which at first can with difficulty be held, become tame as soon as they hear the voice of these women, and present themselves of their own accord at the altar. We were not witnesses of the truth of the latter circumstance, for the doors are shut during the sacrifice.[e]

Behind this edifice there are three places sur-

[c] Theophr. ap. Athen. lib. 6. c. 17. p. 261. Eustath. in Odyss. lib. 18. p. 1839. lin. 47. [d] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 34. p. 193. [e] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 35. p. 195. Ælian. Hist. Animal. lib. 11. c. 4.

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rounded with stone balustrades. In one of these the earth opens and discovers a profound abyss. This is one of the mouths of the infernal regions, of which I have spoken in my journey through Laconia. The inhabitants of the country say that Pluto, when he carried off Proserpine, chose to descend by this gulf, because it is the shortest passage to his gloomy abode. They add that, on account of their situation, they are not required to pay any tribute to Charon, and that therefore they do not put a piece of money into the mouths of their dead, as is practised in every other part of Greece.[f]

At Trœzen we saw with pleasure the monuments that city contains, and heard with patience the long relations which a people, proud of their origin,[g] gave us of their ancient kings, and of the heroes to which their country had given birth. We were shown the seat on which Pittheus, the son of Pelops, administered justice;[h] the house in which Theseus, his grandson and pupil, was born;[i] that in which Hyppolytus dwelt;[k] and his temple in which the maidens of Trœzen deposit their hair before their marriage.[l] The Trœzenians, who pay divine honours to the latter hero, have consecrated to Venus the place in which Phædra concealed herself to see him drive his chariot in the course. Some of them affirm that he was not killed by his horses, but placed among the constella-

[f] Strab. lib. 8. p. 373. Callim. ap. Etymol. Magn. in Δανάκ. [g] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 30. p. 181. [h] Id. ibid. c. 31. p. 184. [i] Id. ibid. c. 32. p. 188. [k] Id. ibid. p. 187. [l] Id. ibid. p. 186.

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tions; others showed us the place where he was buried, which is near the tomb of Phædra.[m]

We were also shown an edifice, in the shape of a tent, in which Orestes continued while he was purified; and a very ancient altar, on which sacrifices were offered at once to the Manes and to Sleep, on account of the union between these divinities.[n] One part of Trœzen is situate on the declivity of a mountain, and the other in a plain, that extends to the port, through which winds the river Chrysorrhoas, and which is surrounded on all sides by hills and mountains, covered to a certain height by vines, olives, pomegranates, and myrtles, above which appear woods of pines and firs that seem to raise their lofty heads to the clouds.[o]

The beauty of this scene did not detain us long in that city. At certain seasons the air of it is unwholesome;[p] its wines are no longer in repute,[q] and the water of the holy fountain it possesses is of a bad quality.[r]

We proceeded on our journey, along the sea-coast, and arrived at Epidaurus, situate at the bottom of a bay,[s] in front of the island of Ægina, which anciently belonged to it.[t] It was formerly defended by strong walls against the attacks of the neighbouring powers.[u]

[m] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 32. p. 186 et 187. [n] Id. ibid. cap. 31. page 184. [o] Fourmont. Voyag. Manuscr. de l'Argolide. [p] Chandl. Trav. in Greece, p. 216. [q] Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 9. c. 20. Plin. lib. 14. c. 18. t. i. p. 724. [r] Vitruv. lib. 8. c. 3. p. 159. Plin. lib. 31. p. 548. [s] Strab. lib. 8. p. 374. [t] Herodot. lib. 5. c. 83. [u] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 56; lib. 5. c. 55 et 56

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Its territory, which abounds in vineyards,[x] is surrounded by mountains covered with oaks.[y] Without the walls, at the distance of forty stadia,[z] * are the temple and sacred grove of Æsculapius,[a] to which sick persons resort from all parts to seek a cure for their various disorders. This small country is governed by a council consisting of one hundred and eighty persons.[b]

Nothing is known with certainty concerning the history of Æsculapius, which is the reason so many different stories are told concerning him. If we may pay any regard to the reports of the people of Epidaurus, a shepherd, having lost his dog and one of his she-goats, found them on a neighbouring mountain, near a child who shone with an extraordinary resplendence, and whom the goat suckled and the dog guarded. This child was Æsculapius, the son of Apollo, and Coronis.[c] He dedicated his days to the relief of the unhappy. The most dangerous wounds and maladies yielded to his operations, his remedies, his harmonious songs, and the magical words that he employed.[d] The gods pardoned him his success, but he dared to recall the dead to life, and, on the representation of Pluto, was struck dead with a thunderbolt.[e]

[x] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 561. [y] Strab. ibid. Plin. lib. 4. c. 5. t. i. p. 194. [z] Liv. lib. 45. c. 28. Val. Max. lib. 1. c. 8. § 2. * About a league and a half. [a] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 26 et 27. [b] Plut. Quæst. Græc. t. ii. p. 291. [c] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 26. p. 170. [d] Pind. Pyth. 3. v. 92. [e] Pind. ibid. v. 10. Eurip. in Alcest. v. 125. Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. tom. ii. p. 408. Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 273. Plin. lib. 29. t. ii. p. 493.

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Other traditions suffer us to perceive some glimmerings of the truth, and present us with a thread which we will follow for a moment without entangling ourselves in its windings. The tutor of Achilles, the sage Chiron, had acquired some slight acquaintance with the virtues of simples, and a still greater knowledge of the method of reducing fractures and luxations. He transmitted what he knew to his descendants, who still exist in Thessaly, and who have at all times generously devoted themselves to the service of the sick.[f]

It appears that Æsculapius was his disciple,[g] and that having been entrusted with his secrets, he taught them to his sons, Machaon and Podalirius,[h] who reigned after his death over a small city in Thessaly.[i] During the siege of Troy they signalised their courage in the field of battle,[k] and their skill in the treatment of wounds;[l] for they had carefully cultivated surgery, an essential part of medicine, and the only one, apparently, which was known in these remote ages.[m] Machaon having been killed under the walls of Troy, his ashes were brought by Nestor to Peloponnesus.[n] His children, who followed the profession of their father, settled in this country. They raised altars to their grandfather, and merited the same honours

[f] Dicæarch. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 30. [g] Pind. Pyth. 3. v. 80. Id. Nem. 3. v. 94. [h] Homer. Iliad. lib. 4. v. 219. [i] Id. lib. 2. v. 730. Strab. lib. 8. p. 339; lib. 10. p. 448. [k] Id. lib. 11. v. 832. [l] Id. ibid. lib. 4. v. 219. [m] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 405, 406, &c. Cels. de Re Med. in Præfat. [n] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 26. p. 278.

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themselves by the services which they rendered to the human race.[o]

The founder of so respectable a family soon became the object of public veneration, though his advancement to the rank of the gods must have been posterior to the time of Homer, who speaks of him only as a man. But at present divine honours are every where paid to him. His worship has passed from Epidaurus to the other cities of Greece, and even to distant countries;[p] and cannot but become still more extensive,[q] because the sick will ever implore with confidence the compassion of a divinity who was subject to like infirmities with themselves.

The Epidaurians have instituted in honour of Æsculapius festivals which are annually celebrated, and to which from time to time are added new spectacles.[r] Though these are most magnificent, the temple of the god, the edifices which surround it, and the scenes which pass in it, are more proper to gratify the curiosity of the inquiring traveller.

I mean not to speak of those rich presents which have been deposited there by the hope and gratitude of the sick;[s] but the expressive words written over the gate of the temple immediately and forcibly arrest the attention. "Entrance here is only permitted to pure souls."[t] The statue of the god, the work of

[o] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 11. p. 136; c. 23. p. 163. [p] Id. lib. 2. c. 26. p. 171 et 172. [q] Liv. Epit. lib. 11. Val. Max. lib. 1. c. 8. § 2. Aurel. Vict. de Vir. Illust. c. 22. Ovid. Metam. &c. [r] Plat. in Ion. t. i. p. 530. [s] Liv. lib. 45. c. 28. [t] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5. p. 652. Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 2. § 19. p. 136.

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Thrasymedes of Paros, as is seen by his name inscribed on the base, is of gold and ivory. Æsculapius appears seated on his throne, with a dog at his feet, a staff in one hand, and stretching out the other over a serpent, which seems to raise itself up to reach it. The artist has engraven on the throne the exploits of some heroes of Argolis; we there see the triumph of Bellerophon, and Perseus cutting off the head of Medusa.[u]

Polycletus, whom no one ever surpassed in the art of sculpture, and who has been equalled by few in architecture, erected, in the sacred grove, an elegant and superb theatre, to receive the spectators on certain festivals.[x] It is built near a marble rotunda, which attracts the eye, and the inside of which has lately been decorated by the painter Pausias. In one of his pictures, Love is no longer seen with the menacing apparatus of a warrior; he has dropped his bow and his shafts, and to triumph only needs the lyre which he holds in his hand. In another, Pausias has represented intoxication under the figure of a woman whose features are distinguished through a glass bottle which she is on the point of emptying.[y]

In the environs we saw a number of columns, on which were inscribed not only the names of those who had been cured, but also a detail of the means by which they recovered their health.[z] Similar monuments, the registers of the experience of ages, would be at all times valuable, but were indispensably ne-

[u] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 27. p. 172. [x] Id. ibid. p. 174. [y] Id. ibid. p. 173. [z] Id. ibid. c. 27. p. 173. Strab. lib. 8. p. 374.

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cessary before there were any writings on medicine. We know that in Egypt the priests reserve in the temples a circumstantial account of the cures that have been wrought.[a] In Greece the priests of Æsculapius have introduced this custom, with their other rites, in almost every place in which they have been established.[b] Hippocrates knew the value of this practice, and derived a great part of his doctrine concerning regimen from a series of ancient inscriptions near the temple which the inhabitants of Cos erected to Æsculapius.[c]

Yet it must be acknowledged that the priests of this god, more desirous to be thought to work miracles than to effect cures, have but too often recourse to imposture to obtain an influence over the minds of the people. They however deserve praise for having placed their temples without the walls of cities, and upon eminences.[d] That of Epidaurus is surrounded by a wood in which no person is permitted to die, nor any child to be brought into the world. For to banish from these places the terrifying image of death, sick persons on the point of expiring, and women about to be delivered, are removed from them.[e] A wholesome air, moderate exercise, proper regimen, and suitable remedies, are the means which have been wisely judged most proper to re-establish health; but these alone are not sufficient for the views of the priests,

[a] Galen. de Compos. Med. lib. 5. c. 2. p. 246. [b] Strab. lib. 8. p. 375. Gruter. Inscript. t. i. p. 71. [c] Strab. lib. 14. p. 657. Plin. lib. 29. c. 1. t. ii. p. 493. [d] Plut. Quæst. Rom. t. ii. p. 286. [e] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 27. p. 172.

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who, that they may be able to attribute natural effects to preternatural causes, add to them a number of superstitious practices.

Near the temple is a spacious hall, in which those who come to consult Æsculapius, after having deposited on the holy table some cakes, fruits, and other offerings, pass the night on little beds.[f] One of the priests bids them keep a profound silence, whatever noise they may hear, resign themselves to sleep, and be attentive to the dreams which the god shall send them.[g] He afterwards extinguishes the light, and takes care to collect the offerings with which the table is covered.[h] Some time after the patients imagine they hear the voice of Æsculapius, whether any sound be conveyed by some ingenious artifice, or the priest returning into the hall mutters some words near their bed, or whether, in fine, in the solemn stillness which surrounds them, their imagination realises the recitals and the objects by which it has never ceased to be acted on since their arrival at the temple.

The divine voice prescribes to them remedies proper to effect their cure, and which are much the same with those of other physicians.[i] It enjoins them at the same time to perform certain religious ceremonies, as necessary to ensure their success. If the patient's complaint be only of the number of imagi-

[f] Aristoph. in Plut. v. 662. Pausan. lib. 2. c. 27. p. 173. Aristid. Orat. t. i. p. 525. Philostr. Vit. Sophist. lib. 1. 535. Plaut. in Circul. act. 1. scen. 1. p. 263. Solin. c. 7. [g] Cicer. de Divin. lib. 2. c. 59. t. iii. p. 89. [h] Aristoph. ibid. v. 676. [i] Le Clerc. Hist de la Med. liv. 1. c. 20. p. 60.

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nary disorders, and he is judged a proper instrument for pious fraud, he is commanded to present himself, the next day, in the temple: to pass from one side of the altar to the other; and to lay his hand first on the altar, and afterwards on the suffering part, and publicly declare his cure, in the presence of a great number of spectators, whom this prodigy cannot fail to inspire with new enthusiasm.[k] Sometimes, to save the honour of Æsculapius, the sick persons are directed to go and perform similar injunctions at some distant place.[l] At other times they receive the visits of the god disguised under the form of a great serpent, the caresses of which reanimate them with new hope.[m]

Serpents, in general, are consecrated to this god, either because the greater part of them have properties useful in medicine,[n] or for other reasons which it would be useless to enumerate; but Æsculapius appears to have had a particular predilection for those found in the neighbourhood of Epidaurus, which are of a colour approaching to a yellow,[o] have no poison, are tame and gentle, and love to live in familiarity with man. That which the priests keep in the temple will sometimes wind round their bodies, or raise himself on his tail to take the food which they present him on a plate.[p] He is rarely suffered to go out; but when this liberty is permitted him, he walks

[k] Gruter. Inscript. t. i. p. 71. [l] Aristid. Orat. t. i. p. 516 et 519. [m] Aristoph. in Plut v. 688. [n] Plin. lib. 29. c. 4. t. ii. p. 505. [o] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 28. p. 175. [p] See coins in the cabinet of the king of France.

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majestically through the streets, and, as his appearance is deemed a happy omen, it excites universal joy.[q] Some revere him, because he is under the protection of the tutelary divinity of the place; and others prostrate themselves before him, because they confound him with the god himself.

These familiar serpents are found in the other temples of Æsculapius,[r] as also in those of Bacchus,[s] and some other divinities. They are very common at Pella, the capital of Macedonia. The women there keep them for their amusement. In the great heats of summer they wind them round their necks like necklaces, and in their orgies wear them as ornaments, or shake them on their heads. During my stay in Greece, it was said that Olympias, queen of Philip king of Macedon, had one of them, which she frequently took to bed with her; and it was even added, that Jupiter had taken the form of that animal, and that Alexander was his son.[t]

The Epidaurians are very credulous, and the generality of sick persons much more so. They repair in crowds to Epidaurus, and submit with implicit resignation to remedies from which they have never before received any benefit, and which their firm confidence sometimes renders more efficacious. The greater part related to me with a lively faith the dreams with which they had been honoured by the gods. Some were so simple that they were highly

[q] Val. Max. lib. 1. c. 8. § 2. [r] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 11. p. 137. [s] Schol. Aristoph. in Plut. v. 690. Lucian. in Alex. c. 7. t. ii. p. 215. [t] Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 665.

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offended at every attempt to reason with them; and others so timid, that no arguments could for a moment divert their attention from their complaints. All of them related instances of cures, into the truth of which they had never examined, but which received additional confirmation by passing from mouth to mouth.

We returned to Argos, and took the road to Nemea, a city famous for the solemn games celebrated there, every third year, in honour of Jupiter. As they are nearly the same with those at Olympia, I shall say no more of them. It will be sufficient to observe, that the Argives preside at them,[u] and that the victor is rewarded with a crown of parsley.[x] We afterwards entered the mountains, and at the distance of fifteen stadia from the city, our guides showed us, with a kind of shuddering, the cavern which was the den of the lion that fell beneath the club of Hercules.[y]

From thence, returning to Corinth, we once more took the road to Athens, where, when I arrived, I continued my researches into the different parts of the administration, the opinions of the philosophers, and the various branches of literature.

[u] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 15. p. 144. Julian. Epist. pro Argiv. p. 408. [x] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 48. p. 697. Plin. lib. 19. c. 8. p. 179. Lucian. Gymnas. c. 9. t. ii. p. 888. [y] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 15. p. 144.

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CHAPTER LIV.

The Republic of Plato.

Two great questions employ the attention of the philosophers of Greece, the one concerning the manner in which the universe is governed, and the other the mode in which men ought to be governed. These problems, perhaps equally difficult to resolve, are the perpetual subject of their conversations and their writings. We shall hereafter see what Plato, following Timæus, thought concerning the formation of the world. I shall now explain the means he imagined to constitute the most happy of political societies.

He had more than once conversed with us on this subject, but he explained himself with greater care one day in the academy, where, for some time, he had ceased to give lessons. He undertook to prove, that he who is just must be happy, even though he should have no good to hope from the gods, and every evil to fear from men. The better to show what justice is in an individual, he examined what would be its effects in a government, in which it manifests itself with a more marked influence, and in more sensible characters. The following is nearly the idea which he gave us of his system. I shall introduce him speaking, but must intreat the indulgence of my reader; for, were it required to clothe his thoughts with the beauties with which he knew

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to embellish them, the Graces themselves must hold the pencil.

I mean not to give the plan either of a monarchy or a democracy. Whether the sovereign authority be confided to a single man, or exercised by a number of persons, is of small importance. I propose to form a government in which the people shall be happy under the empire of virtue.

I shall divide the citizens of such a state into three classes; that of the mercenaries, or the multitude; that of the warriors, or the guardians of the state; and that of the magistrates, or sages. To the first of these I shall prescribe nothing; they were born blindly to follow the impressions of the two others.

I would form a body of warriors,[z] who should always have their arms in their hands, and whose object it should be to preserve the state in profound tranquillity. They shall not be intermingled with the other citizens, but shall remain in a camp, and be constantly in readiness to quell internal factions, and repel foreign invasions.[a]

But as men so formidable may be infinitely dangerous,[b] and as, since they are in possession of the whole force of the state, it will be but too easy for them to usurp a power over it, we will hold them in restraint, not by the laws, but by the vigour of an institution which shall regulate their passions, and even their virtues. We will cultivate their minds and their hearts by instructions which are relative to

[z] Plat. de Rep. lib. 2. p. 373. [a] Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 415.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 416.

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music, and we will increase their courage and their health by the exercises of the gymnasium.[c]

Their education shall commence from their earliest years,[d] and the impressions which they shall then receive will not be contrary to those which they must afterwards experience. Care shall especially be taken not to amuse them with the idle fictions contained in the writings of Homer, Hesiod, and other poets. The dissensions and acts of vengeance falsely attributed to the gods can only present to them great crimes justified by great authorities; and it is indeed a serious misfortune to have been early accustomed to find nothing extraordinary in the most atrocious actions.

Let us never degrade the divinity by such images. Let poetry present herself to the children of warriors with equal dignity and beauty. Let them be incessantly taught that God can only be the author of good,[e] that no real evil originates from him, that his chastisements are benefits, and that the wicked are to be lamented, not when they suffer, but when they find the means to avoid him.[f]

Care shall be taken to educate them in the most perfect contempt of death, and the terrific apparatus of the infernal shades.[g] The menacing and exaggerated descriptions of Cocytus and of Styx may be useful on certain occasions, but were not made for men, who ought only to be acquainted with fear by

[c] Plat. de Rep. lib. 2. p. 376. [d] Id. ibid. p. 377. [e] Id. ibid. p. 379. [f] Id. ibid. p. 380. Id. in Georg. t. i. p. 472 et 509. [g] Id. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 386.

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the effects of that with which they inspire their enemies.

Intimately convinced of these truths, that death is not an evil,[h] and that the sage is sufficient to himself, they shall see their friends and relatives expire around them without shedding a tear or heaving a sigh. Their souls shall be alike superior to the excess of grief, of joy, or of anger; they shall neither know vile interest, nor falsehood, if possible still more vile. They shall blush at the weakness and cruelty which the poets have attributed to the ancient warriors,[i] and they shall know that true heroism consists only in the government of the passions, and in obedience to the laws.

On their minds shall be engraven, as on brass, in indelible characters, the internal ideas of justice and of truth; that the wicked are miserable in prosperity,[k] and that virtue is happy in persecution, and even in oblivion.

But these truths ought not to be presented in colours which may diminish their majesty.[l] Banished be those actors who degrade them on the stage, by combining with them a too faithful picture of the infirmities and vices of humanity; their talents would inspire our pupils with that taste for imitation, the habit of which, when early contracted, enters into the manners, and influences them every moment of their lives. It is not for them to copy gestures and language which are unsuitable to their character; their

[h] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 387. [i] Id. ibid. p. 391. [k] Id. ibid. p. 392. [l] Id. ibid. p. 394, &c.

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behaviour and expressions should breathe the sanctity of virtue, and have no other ornament than their extreme simplicity. Should any of those poets, who are so versed in all the various forms of discourse, and able indiscriminately to represent every character, enter our city, we will shed perfume on his head, and give him his dismission.[m]

We will exclude from our music both the plaintive accents of the Lydian harmony, and the effeminacy of the Iönian song; but we will retain the Dorian mode, the masculine and nervous expression of which shall animate the courage of our warriors; and the Phrygian, whose peaceful and religious airs may suit the tranquillity which we would preserve in the soul. Yet shall even these two modes be restrained in their movements, and compelled to assume a loftiness of expression consonant to circumstances, conformable to the airs which they are to regulate, and to the words to which they should ever be subservient.[n]

From this happy relation established between words, harmony and numbers, shall result that propriety, and by consequence that beauty, of which the idea ought to be ever present to our pupils. This idea painting, architecture, and all the arts, shall unceasingly offer to their eyes, that, surrounded and assailed on every side by images of beauty, and living in the midst of those images, as in a pure and serene air, they may be penetrated by them to their inmost souls, and accustomed to reflect them in their actions

[m] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 398 et 399. [n] Id. ibid.

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and manners.[o] Fostered by these divine influences, they shall shudder at the first aspect of vice, because they perceive not on it the sacred impress which they bear in their hearts; and shall exult with joy at the voice of reason and of virtue, because they shall appear to them under known and familiar forms. They shall love beauty with all the transports, but without the extravagances, of love.

The same principles shall direct that part of their education, which relates to the necessities and the exercises of the body.[p] But they cannot be subjected to any uniform and constant rule of regimen, because men who are to lead their lives in a camp, and to follow the operations of a campaign, ought to be inured to support hunger and thirst, cold and heat, wants, fatigues, and all the severities of the seasons. They will find in a frugal diet the treasures of health, and in constant exercise the means of increasing their courage rather than their strength.[q] Those who shall have received from nature a delicate constitution, shall not seek to fortify it by the resources of art. As the artisan has not leisure to repair the ruins of a body which labour consumes,[r] they would blush to prolong with their cares a dying life, which is useless to the state. Prompt and simple remedies shall be applied in cases of accidental maladies, but the disorders which arise from intemperance and other excesses shall be unknown, and those, the seeds of which they

[o] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 401. [p] Id. ibid. p. 403. [q] Id. ibid. p. 410. [r] Id. ibid. p. 406.

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brought with them into the world, left to chance;[s] we shall thus proscribe that part of medicine which is of no other use than to multiply our sufferings, and prolong our dying moments.

I shall say nothing here of the chase, dancing, or of the combats of the gymnasium;[t] nor shall I speak of that inviolable reverence to be paid to parents, and to aged persons,[u] or of a number of other observances, the detail of which would lead me too far. I shall only establish general principles, from which the particular rules will result of themselves, and may be easily applied to existing circumstances. The most essential of these is, that music and the gymnastic exercises have an equal influence on education, and that a just proportion should be carefully maintained between the exercises of the body and those of the mind; for music alone softens and renders effeminate the character which it tempers,[x] and the exercises of the gymnasium, while they bestow on it vigour, render it harsh and ferocious. It is only by combining these two arts, and correcting the one by the other, that we can be able to bend or relax in a just proportion the springs of a too feeble or too impetuous mind; by these means only our warriors, uniting strength and courage to mildness and amenity, will appear in the eyes of their enemies the most formidable, and in those of their fellow citizens the most amiable of men.[y] But, to produce

[s] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 310. [t] Id. ibid. p. 412. [u] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 425. [x] Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 410. [y] Id. ibid. lib. 2. p. 376.

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this happy effect, care must be taken to make no innovation in the system of the institution once established. It has been said that, to introduce an alteration in the rules of music, would be to shake the fundamental laws of government:[z] I add, that we should be exposed to the same danger by making any alteration in the games, spectacles, or most trifling customs.[a] Because among a people which are governed rather by manners than by the laws, the least innovations are dangerous; and because the moment received usages are departed from in a single point, the opinion of their wisdom is destroyed, an abuse is introduced, and poison circulates in the veins of the state.

In our republic every thing will depend on the education of the warriors,[b] and this education must depend wholly on the severity of discipline. They must be taught to consider the minutest observance as an indispensable duty, and the most trifling negligence as a crime. Nor let any one be astonished at the importance which we annex to practices apparently frivolous: even though they should not immediately tend to promote the general good, exactness in their observance will yet be of the most inestimable value, because it will teach to curb and guide the inclinations. We wish to exalt the mind to the highest degree of perfection for itself, and of utility to its country; to adapt it equally to the smallest and the greatest things; to teach it incessantly to

[z] Plat. de Rep. lib. 4. p. 424. [a] Id. de Leg. lib. 7. p. 797.
[b] Id. de Rep. lib. 4. p. 423, &c.

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oppose and subject the will, till every thought and action has no other object than the public good. Those who are incapable of this self-renunciation cannot be admitted into the class of warriors, but shall be banished into that of the artists and labourers;[c] for the difference of rank shall not with us be determined by birth, but solely by the qualities of the mind.

Before we proceed any farther, let us call on our pupils to cast a glance on the life which they are one day to lead; they will then be less astonished at the rigour of our discipline, and better prepared for the high destiny which awaits them.

If our warriors possessed lands and houses, if gold and silver should once pollute their hands,[d] ambition, hatred, and all the passions which follow in the train of riches, would insinuate themselves into their hearts, and they would soon become no more than ordinary men. We will therefore deliver them from the influence of those low cares which would bow them to the earth. They shall be maintained in common at the expense of the public, and their country, to which they shall dedicate all their thoughts and all their desires, shall undertake to provide for their wants, which shall be reduced to what absolute necessity demands. And should it be objected to us that by these privations they must enjoy less happiness than the other citizens, we will reply, that a legislator ought to propose to himself the happiness of a whole

[c] Plat. de Red. lib. 5. p. 415. [d] Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 416.

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society, and not that of any single class of citizens of which it is composed.[e] Whatever means he may employ to this end, if he succeeds, he will always have effected individual, which depends on general, good. I besides mean not to found a city which shall revel in pleasures, but to regulate labour in such a manner as to banish poverty without introducing riches;[f] and if our warriors differ from the other citizens, it will only be because they possess more virtues and have fewer wants.

We have endeavoured to preserve them from the infection of that sordid interest which is the source of so many crimes; it will be also necessary to extend, or rather to perfect in their hearts, those affections which nature inspires, and to unite them among themselves by the very means which contribute to divide them. I enter into a new track, in which I proceed with trembling; the ideas which I mean to propose will appear equally offensive and chimerical. In fact, I distrust myself; and this disposition of mind, if I err, ought to ensure me a previous pardon for my involuntary error.

May not that sex which we confine to obscure and domestic employments be intended for more noble and more exalted functions?[g] Have not women a thousand times given examples of courage, wisdom, excellence in every virtue, and success in all the arts?[h] The qualities of their minds may perhaps be tinctured with their natural feebleness, and may

[e] Plat. de Rep. lib. 4. p. 420. [f] Id. ibid. p. 421. [g] Id. ibid. lib. 5. p. 452. [h] Id. ibid. p. 455.

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be inferior to ours; but does it thence follow that they ought to be left useless to their country? No; Nature bestows no talent to remain unemployed, and the great art of the legislator is to avail himself of all the springs she furnishes, and to leave none of them inactive. Our warriors shall share with their wives the care of preserving the tranquillity of the state, as the faithful dog shares with his companion the guardianship of the flock entrusted to their mutual cares.[j] Both shall be educated in the same principles, in the same places, and under the same masters. They shall be instructed together in the elements of the sciences and the lessons of wisdom; and in the gymnasium our youthful maidens, laying aside their garments, and adorned with their virtues, as the most honourable of vestments, shall dispute the prize of the exercises with the youths their rivals.[k]

We have too great a sense of what we suppose to be decency, and are too much corrupted, not to revolt at a regulation which long habit and purer manners would render less dangerous. The magistrates shall nevertheless be attentive to prevent abuses.[l] At certain festivals, instituted to form legitimate and sacred unions, they shall cast into an urn the names of those who shall be selected to give defenders to the republic. These shall be warriors from the age of thirty years to that of fifty-five, and females of the same class from that of twenty to that of forty.[m] The number of these shall be regulated

[j] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. p. 451; lib. 7. p. 537. [k] Id. ibid. p. 452 et 457. [l] Id. ibid. p. 458. [m] Id. lib. 5. p. 460.

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by the losses which the state may have sustained, since the excess and the defect of population ought to be avoided with equal care. Chance, apparently, shall join their hands, but the magistrates, by adroit contrivance, shall so properly correct the caprices of fortune, that the persons of either sex most proper to preserve the race of our warriors in its purity shall always be united. At the same time, the priests and priestesses shall pour forth the blood of victims on the altar, the air shall resound with hymns and epithalamiums,[n] and the people, at once the witnesses and guardians of the unions formed by lot, shall supplicate heaven to grant to the republic sons still more virtuous than their fathers.

The children born of these marriages shall be immediately taken from their parents, and lodged in a place to which their mothers shall repair, without knowing them, to distribute, sometimes to one and sometimes to another, that sustenance which Nature has provided for infants, and which they shall not be permitted to reserve exclusively for the fruits of their own affections.[o]

In this nursery of warriors shall not be admitted children born with any deformity: they shall be removed and concealed in some obscure retreat: nor shall those be received into it whose birth shall not have been preceded by the august ceremonies before described, nor those which shall be the fruit of a premature or too late union.[p]

[n] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. p. 459. [o] Id. ibid. p. 460. [p] Id. ibid.

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When the husband and wife shall have fulfilled the wishes of the state, they shall separate and remain at liberty till the magistrates call on them again to unite, and chance shall assign to them other connections. From this succession of marriages and divorces it will result, that the same women may from time to time appertain to many warriors.[q]

But when either men or women shall have passed the age prescribed by the laws to the engagements they ordain,[r] they shall be permitted to contract others; always provided, that on the one side no fruit of their union be suffered to appear, and on the other, that they form no connections with those from whom they derive their birth, or to whom they have given existence.

But as this may be difficult to ascertain, it shall suffice for them to consider as their sons and daughters all the children born at the same time with those of whom they were actually the parents; and this maxim shall be a principle of union unknown in other states.[s] In fact, each warrior shall imagine himself united by the ties of blood with every other, and the tender and beloved names of father and mother, son and daughter, brother and sister, shall be common to all. The sentiments of nature, instead of concentrating to particular objects, shall be abundantly diffused through this extensive family, and animate the whole with the same spirit. All hearts shall with ease fulfil duties which they shall impose on them-

[q] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. 457. [r] Id. ibid. p. 461. [s] Id. ibid. p. 463.

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selves, and, renouncing all personal advantage, shall mutually divide their griefs, which they shall enfeeble, and their pleasures, which they shall augment, by participation. The seeds of dissension shall be destroyed by the authority of the chiefs, and all violence enchained by the fear of offending against nature.[t]

This precious affection, which shall unite them during peace, shall act with still greater force in war. Let us imagine, in the field of battle, a troop of youthful warriors, of ardent courage,[u] exercised in combats from their infancy, ready to display the virtues they have acquired, and persuaded that by an act of cowardice they shall become base and contemptible, by noble deeds exalted to honour, and that by death they shall merit altars; let us suppose that at this moment the powerful voice of their country meets their ears, and that to this voice are joined the plaintive exclamations of friendship, which shows them from rank to rank all their friends in danger; lastly, to awaken in their souls the strongest emotions, let us place in the midst of them their wives and children; their wives who come to fight beside them, and reanimate them with their voices and their eyes; their children, to whom it is their duty to give lessons of valour, and who, it may be, are on the point of perishing by the barbarous sword of the enemy: can we believe that this body of men, actuated by these most powerful interests as by an ardent flame, will for a moment hesitate to collect all their forces and all

[t] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. p. 465. [u] Id. ibid. p. 471.

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their rage; to fall like a thunderbolt on their enemies, and crush them with an irresistible fury?

Such shall be the sublime effects of the union established between our warriors. But they shall likewise possess exalted sentiments, which they shall owe only to their virtues.[x] They shall be able to check their passions in their impetuous career, and become mild, compassionate, and humane, after their victory. They shall not once entertain the thought of loading with chains a vanquished enemy, nor shall they insult the dead on the field of battle, nor suspend trophies in the temples of the gods, who have no pleasure in such offerings, nor carry fire and sword through a defenceless country. These cruelties, which they shall scarcely permit themselves to exercise on the barbarians, ought never to be known in Greece, in that republic of friendly nations, the divisions of which should never present the image of war, but rather that of the transitory dissensions which some times happen between the citizens of the same city.[y]

We may now be satisfied that we have sufficiently provided for the happiness of our warriors.[z] We have enriched them by depriving them of all property; without possessing any thing they shall enjoy all things. There is not one among them but may say: Every thing belongs to me. And who ought not to add, said Aristotle, who had hitherto remained silent: Nothing appertains to me in reality. Oh

[x] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. p. 469. [y] Id. ibid. p. 465. [z] Id. ibid.

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Plato! it is not those possessions which we share with others that we value most, but those which are personal and peculiar to us. The moment your warriors shall have no kind of property, expect from them only an interest without animation, as it is without object. Their affection, unable to fix on that multitude of children which surround them, shall become languid, and each shall rely on the other, to furnish examples and bestow instruction, as we see the domestics in a family addicted to neglect those duties which are common to them all.[a]

Plato replied: We have placed in the hearts of our warriors two principles: sentiment and virtue, which in concert must continually inspire them with zeal. The former shall not only act on them in a general manner by their considering themselves as all citizens of the same country, but its influence shall become still more forcible and extensive, since they shall view each other as all children of the same family: and such they shall be in fact; for the obscurity of their birth shall not render dubious their claims to affinity. If the allusion be not equally powerful with the reality, it shall at least be more extensive; for little does it signify whether the affections be carried to an excess between certain individuals, provided they enter all hearts, and suffice to connect them by one common chain. But if by chance they should be too feeble to render our warriors attentive and vigilant, have we not another mo-

[a] Aristot. de Polit. lib. 2. c. 3 et 4. t. ii. p. 314, &c.

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tive in that sublime virtue which shall incessantly transport them even beyond their duty?

Aristotle was about to reply, but we prevented him, and he contented himself with asking Plato whether he believed it possible that his republic should exist.

Plato mildly replied: Recollect the object of my inquiry.[b] I wish to prove that happiness is inseparable from justice, and with this view I examined what form of government would be the best, that I may heareafter show which would be the most happy. If a painter should present to us a figure the beauty of which should surpass all our ideas, should we object to him that nothing equal to it is produced by nature? I, in like manner, present to you the image of the most perfect republic. I propose it as the model to which all other governments ought more or less to approach, to be more or less happy. I will go farther and add, that my project, chimerical as it may appear, may in some manner be realised, not only among us, but in every other government, were a change made in the administration of affairs. And what should be that change? That philosophers should ascend the throne, or that sovereigns should become philosophers.[c]

This idea will no doubt offend all those who are not acquainted with true philosophy; but those who are, will be sensible that no other remedy can be found for the evils which afflict humanity.

I am now come to the third and most important

[b] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. p. 472. [c] Id. ibid. p. 473.

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class of citizens, I mean the magistrates; that small number of men, chosen from among the virtuous; those chiefs who, taken from the class of warriors, as much excel them in merit as they excel the artists and the labourers.

What precautions will not be necessary in the choice of men so rare! what study and observation to discern, and what labour to form them! Let us enter into that sanctuary in which are educated the sons of the warriors, and into which the children of the other citizens may merit to be admitted. Let us select those who, joining the advantages of person to other natural graces, distinguish themselves from their companions in all the exercises of body and mind.[d] Let us examine if the desire of knowledge and the love of virtue early sparkle in their eyes, and manifest themselves in their discourse; let us observe whether, in proportion as the powers of the mind expand, they are inspired with a more ardent love for their duty, and whether the signs of the character we seek more frequently escape them as their years increase. Let us lay snares for their infant reason; and if the principles it has imbibed can neither be altered by time nor by contrary principles, let us attack them by the fear of pain, by the allurements of pleasure, and by every kind of violence and seduction.[e] Let us afterwards place our young pupils in the presence of the enemy, not to engage in the conflict, but to be spetators of it; and let us carefully remark the impression

[d] Plat. de Rep. lib. 6. p. 485 et 486; lib. 7. p. 535. [e] Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 413.

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made on them by the view of labours and dangers, After having seen them come forth from these trials as pure as gold from the crucible;[f] after having convinced ourselves that they naturally entertain an aversion to the pleasures of sense, and feel a horror at falsehood;[g] that they join a propriety of thinking to exalted sentiment, and vivacity of imagination to solidity of character:[h] let us watch over their conduct with still increased attention, and redouble our cares to continue and complete their education.

We have spoken above of the principles which should regulate their manners; we are at present to consider the sciences most proper to expand and improve their mental faculties. The first of these should be arithmetic and geometry;[i] both proper to increase the strength and discernment of the mind; both useful to the warrior to guide him in his military operations, and absolutely necessary to the philosopher to accustom him to fix his ideas, and raise him to the perception of truth. Astronomy, music, and all the sciences which produce the same effect, shall also enter into the plan of our institution.[k] But our pupils must apply themselves to these studies without effort, without constraint, and as it were for amusement.[l] At the age of eighteen they shall suspend them, to resign themselves wholly, during two or three years, to the exercises of the gymnasium; after which they shall resume them, and observe the relation which they

[f] Plat. de Rep. lib. 6. p. 503. [g] Id. ibid. p. 485. [h] Id. ibid. p. 503. [i] Id. ibid. lib. 7. p. 522 et 526. [k] Id. ibid. p. 527 et 530. [l] Id. ibid. p. 536.

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have to each other.[m] Those among them who shall continue to justify the expectations we had conceived of them in their infancy shall obtain honourable distinctions; and as soon as they shall have arrived at the age of thirty years, they shall be initiated into the science of meditation, into those sublime dialectics which ought to be the conclusion of their first studies, and the object of which is less the knowledge of the existence than the essence of things.*

We have to blame ourselves alone if this object has not hitherto been fulfilled. Our youth attaching themselves too early to dialectics, and not being able to ascend to the principles of the truths which they teach, convert their studies into an amusement,[n] and engage in contentions in which, sometimes victors and sometimes vanquished, they only acquire doubts and errors. Hence those defects which they retain through their whole lives, that love of contradiction, that indifference for the truths which they have been unable to defend, and that predilection for the sophisms which have obtained them the victory.

Success so frivolous and dangerous shall have no temptations for our pupils; more solid instruction shall be the fruit of their conversations and their studies. Disengaged from the fetters of the senses, and absorbed in meditation, they shall gradually be filled with the idea of good; that good after which we ardently sigh, and of which we form such con-

[m] Plat. de Rep. lib. 7. p. 537. * In the time of Plato, by the term dialectics were understood at once logic, natural theology, and metaphysics. [n] Plat. ibid. p. 539.

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fused images; that supreme good, the source of all truth and all justice, which ought to animate the sovereign magistrate, and render him inflexible in the discharge of his duties.[o] But where does this good reside, and where is it to be sought? In pleasures by which we are intoxicated? In knowledge that inflates us with pride? In the splendid decoration by which we are dazzled? No: for whatever is moveable and changeable cannot be the true good. Let us then leave the earth and the shades in which it is buried, and raising our minds towards the abode of light, declare to mortals the truths of which they are ignorant.

Two worlds exist,—the one visible and the other ideal.[p] The first, formed on the model of the other, is that which we inhabit. In it every thing, being subject to generation and corruption, changes and passes away incessantly, while we only behold the images and fugitive portions of being. The second contains the essences and prototypes of all visible objects, and these essences are real beings, since they are immutable. Two kings, one of whom is the servant and slave of the other, diffuse their splendors in these two worlds. In the expanse of heaven the sun discloses and perpetuates the objects which he renders visible to our eyes. From the most exalted part of the intellectual world, the supreme good produces and preserves the essences which he renders intelligible to our souls.[q] The sun enlightens

[o] Plat. de Rep. lib. 6. p. 505 et 508. [p] Id. ibid. p. 509.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 508.

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us with his light, the supreme good by his truth; and as our eyes have a distinct perception when they are fixed on bodies which receive the light of day, in the same manner our soul acquires real knowledge when it considers beings which reflect the truth. But would you know how much the light which illumines these two worlds differs in splendour and beauty? Imagine a deep cavern, in which are men, who, from their infancy, have been so loaded with heavy chains that they are unable to move from the place in which they are, or to behold any objects but those before their faces.[r] Behind them, at a certain distance, is placed, on a height, a fire, which diffuses a feeble light through the cavern. Between this fire and the captives is a wall, along which persons go and come, some in silence, others conversing together, and holding in their hands, and raising above the wall, the figures of men or animals, and moveables of every kind, the shades of which are projected on the side of the cavern exposed to the eyes of the captives, who, struck by these transient images, will take them for real beings, and attribute to them motion, life, and speech. Let us now suppose that we take one of these captives,[s] and, to dissipate his illusion, break his chains, and oblige him to rise and turn his head. Astonished at the new objects which present themselves, he will doubt their reality, and dazzled and hurt by the brightness of the fire, he will turn away his eyes, again to fix them on the vain phantoms

[r] Plat. de Rep. lib. 7. p. 514. [s] Id. ibid. p. 515.

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which before engaged his attention. Let us make him undergo a new trial; let us force him from his cavern, in despite of his cries, his resistance, and all the difficulties which he has to encounter. When brought above the surface of the earth, he will find himself suddenly overwhelmed by the splendour of day, and it will not be till after frequent trials that he will be able to distinguish shadows and bodies, to view the stars, and to observe the sun, and consider him as the author of the seasons and the fruitful principle of every sensible object.[t]

But what idea must he then entertain of the praises he has heard given in his cavern to those who first noticed and distinguished the shadows in their passage? What must he think of the pride, hatreds, and jealousies, which those discoveries have excited among his wretched companions? A sentiment of pity will no doubt compel him to fly to their succour, to teach them the deception of their false wisdom and puerile knowledge; but since, passing so suddenly from so great a light to such profound obscurity, he will at first be able to discern nothing, they will raise a cry against him, and, never ceasing to reproach him with his blindness, will exhibit him as a terrible example of the dangers to which those are exposed who venture into the superior region.[u]

Such is precisely the picture of our wretched condition. The human race is buried in an immense

[t] Plat de Rep. lib. 7. p. 516. [u] Id. ibid. p. 517.

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cavern, loaded with chains, and only able to discern and employ their attention on unreal and artificial shadows.[x] Pleasures here have only a painful conclusion, the good most eagerly pursue a deceitful splendour, virtue a frail foundation, and bodies themselves an illusory existence. We must leave this place of darkness, break our chains, raise ourselves by redoubled efforts to the intellectual world,[y] approach by degrees the Supreme Intelligence, and contemplate his divine nature in the silence of the senses and the passions. Then shall we see that from his throne flow, in the order of moral essences, justice, knowledge, and truth; and in that of natural, the light of the sun, the productions of the earth, and the existence of all things. No; a soul which has arrived at this sublime elevation, which has once experienced the emotions and the transports excited by a view of the Supreme Good,[z] will never again deign to return and partake in our labours and our honours; or, if it should descend among us, and before it is familiarised to our darkness, be forced to explain itself on the real essence of justice, to men who are only acquainted with its phantom,[a] the novel principles it must teach will appear so absurd or so dangerous, that it must either be ridiculed for its madness, or punished for its temerity.

Such, nevertheless, are the sages who shall be at the head of our republic, and who shall be formed by dialectics. During the space of five whole years

[x] Plat. de Rep. lib. 7. p. 517. [y] Id. ibid. [z] Id. in Phæd. t. iii. p. 250. Id. de Rep. lib. 6. p. 485. [a] Plat. ibid. p. 517.

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dedicated to this study,[b] they shall meditate on the nature of what is fitting, just, and true. Not satisfied with the vague and uncertain notions now taught, they shall investigate their true origin. They shall read their duties not in the precepts of men, but in the instructions which they shall immediately receive from the most exalted of beings. From the familiar conversations which, if I may so speak, they shall have with him, they shall derive infallible light to discern the truth, unshaken firmness in the exercise of justice, and that obstinate perseverance in good which nothing can vanquish, but which, in the end, triumphs over all things.

But while thus closely connected with the Supreme Good, and living a true and real life,[c] they shall forget all nature; the republic, which possesses claims on their virtues, shall recal them to itself, to confide to them military employments and other functions suitable to their age.[d] They shall then pass new trials till they have arrived at their fiftieth year, when they shall be invested, in despite of themselves, with the sovereign authority, and shall approach with increasing fervour the Supreme Being, that he may guide them in their conduct. Thus appertaining to heaven by philosophy, and to earth by their duties, they shall instruct and render happy their fellow citizens. After their death they shall revive in their successors, who have been trained by their lessons and

[b] Plat. de Rep. lib. 7. p. 539. [c] Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 490.
[d] Id. ibid. lib. 7. p. 519 et 540.

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example; their grateful country shall erect monuments to them, and invoke them as tutelary genii.[e]

The philosophers whom we shall place at the head of our republic shall not then be idle declaimers, and sophists despised by the multitude whom they are incapable to conduct;[f] they shall possess great and vigorous minds, they shall be wholly occupied in promoting the good of the state, well informed in every branch of the administration by long experience and the most sublime of theories, and become by their virtue and knowledge the images and interpreters of the gods on earth. As our republic shall be but of small extent,[g] they will easily, at a single glance, embrace all its parts. Their authority, so respectable in itself, shall be supported, in case of need, by that body of invincible and pacific warriors who shall know no other ambition than to defend the laws and their country.[h] The people shall find their happiness in the enjoyment of a moderate but certain fortune, the warriors in their exemption from domestic cares, and the praises bestowed on their success;[i] and the magistrates in the pleasure of doing good, and having the Supreme Being for a witness to their actions.

To these motives Plato added another still more powerful, by presenting the prospect of the happiness and misery reserved in another life to vice and virtue. He dwelt at length on the immortality and various transmigrations of the soul.[k] He next enumerated

[e] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 414; lib. 7. p. 540. [f] Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 493. [g] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 433. [h] Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 395. [i] Id. ibid. lib. 5. p. 468. [k] Id. ibid. lib. 10. p. 608.

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the essential defects of the government already established, and concluded by observing, that he had prescribed nothing concerning the worship of the gods, since the regulation of that appertained to the oracle of Delphi.

When he had ended speaking, his disciples, captivated by his eloquence, remained absorbed in admiration; but others of his hearers affirmed that he had raised an edifice more specious than solid,[l] and that his system ought only to be considered as the delirious offspring of a heated imagination and a virtuous heart. Others pronounced sentence with still more severity: Plato, said they, is not himself the author of this project; he has borrowed it from the laws of Lycurgus and the writings of Pythagoras in which he has found almost the whole of it.[m] While he was in Sicily he wished to realise it in a corner of that island; but the Younger Dionysius, king of Syracuse, who had at first granted him his permission, afterwards refused it him.[n] He appears now only to propose his plan with restrictions, and as a simple hypothesis; but, by declaring more than once in his discourse that it is possible to carry it into execution,[o] he has sufficiently discovered his secret sentiments.

Formerly, added they, those who sought to correct the form of government were sages who, enlightened by their own experience or by that of others, knew

[l] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 4. t. ii. p. 367. [m] Aristox. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 3. § 37. [n] Diogen. Laërt. lib. 3. § 21. [o] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. p. 471 et 472; lib. 6. p. 499; lib. 7. p. 540.

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that the disorders of a state are exasperated instead of being cured by too violent remedies; at present they are philosophers who possess more ingenuity than knowledge, and wish to institute a government without defect, and produce men without frailties. Hippodamus of Miletus was the first who, without having had any part in the administration of affairs, projected a new plan of a republic.[p] Protagoras[q] and other authors have followed his example, who will also hereafter be imitated by others, since nothing is so easy as to invent systems to ensure the happiness of the people, and nothing so difficult as to carry them into execution. Perhaps, indeed, no person is more convinced of the truth of this observation than Plato, who has never communicated his projects of reform to those who have requested them from him, though he has bestowed them on others who were unable to make use of them.[r] He refused them to the inhabitants of Megalopolis, because they would not consent to admit a perfect equality of possessions and honours;[s] and to those of Cyrene, because they were too rich to obey his laws.[t] But if these states had been so virtuous and so regardless of wealth and distinctions as he required, they would not have needed the assistance of his philosophy. Yet these pretexts did not prevent him from giving his advice to

[p] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 8. t. ii. p. 325. [q] Diogen. Laërt. lib. 9. § 55. [r] Plut. de Fort. Alex. t. ii. p. 328. [s] Pamph. ap. Diogen. Laërt. lib. 3. § 23. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. c. 42. [t] Plut. in Lucull. t. i. p. 492. Id. ad Princip. Inert. t. ii. p. 779. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12. c. 30.

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the people of Syracuse, when, after the death of Dion, they consulted him on the form of government which they should establish in their city.[u] It is true that his plan was not followed, though it was much more easy to reduce to practice than that of his republic.

It was thus that many of those who heard Plato expressed themselves, either from conviction or from jealousy, concerning the political projects of that philosopher.

[u] Plat. Epist. 8. t. iii. p. 352.

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CHAPTER LV.

On the Commerce of the Athenians.

The harbour of the Piræus is much frequented, not only by Grecian vessels, but also by those of the nations which the Greeks denominate barbarians;[x] and a still greater number would resort thither if the republic knew better to profit by the happy situation of the country, the goodness of its harbours, the superiority of its shipping, its silver mines, and the other advantages it possesses; and if honours were bestowed as a reward on the merchants whose industry and activity have increased the national wealth.[y] But when the Athenians felt the necessity of a navy, too much actuated by the spirit of conquest, they aspired to the sovereignty of the sea, only to obtain that of the land; and their commerce has been confined to the procuring from other countries the commodities and productions necessary to their subsistence.

Throughout all Greece, the laws have imposed shackles on commerce; and those of Carthage have sometimes laid restrictions on the property of their colonists. After the latter city had taken possession of a part of Sardinia, and peopled it with new inhabitants,[z] she forbade them to sow their lands, and com-

[x] Demosth. in Lacrit. p. 948. [y] Xen. Rat. Redit. p. 922.
[z] Bochart. Geogr. Sacr. lib. 1. c. 31.

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manded them to exchange the fruits of their industry for the too abundant commodities of the metropolis.[a] The Grecian colonies are not held in the same dependence, and are in general more in a condition to furnish provisions to their parent cities than to receive their supplies of necessaries from them.

Plato compares gold and virtue to two opposite weights in a balance, one of which cannot rise unless the other sinks.[b] According to this idea, a city ought to be situate at a distance from the sea, and neither to receive too many nor too few commodities. Besides that it would preserve its manners uncorrupted, it would require but half the number of laws which are necessary to other states; for the more commerce flourishes, the more must these be multiplied.[c]— The Athenians have a great number, relative to captains of ships, merchants, duties, interest of money, and the different kinds of contracts and agreements which they are continually making at the Piræus, or among the bankers.

The object of many of these laws is to remove and prevent as much as possible the litigations and obstacles which impede the operations of commerce. They inflict a fine of a thousand drachmas,* and sometimes the punishment of imprisonment, on him who shall accuse a merchant of any crime which he is unable to prove.[d] As merchant ships keep the

[a] Aristot. de Mirab. Auscult. t. i. p. 1159. [b] Plat. de Rep. lib. 8. p. 550. [c] Plat de Leg. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 842. * 900 livres (37*l.* 10*s.*) [d] Orat. in Theocr. ap. Demosth. p. 850.

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sea only from the month of Munychion to the month Boedromion,* all causes relative to commerce are only to be heard during the six months which intervene between the return of the vessels and their again leaving port.[e] To these wise regulations Xenophon has proposed to add rewards for those judges who shall soonest determine the suits brought before their tribunal.[f]

This jurisdiction, which only takes cognisance of causes of a commercial kind, is particularly attentive to the conduct of merchants. Commerce certainly derives more advantages from those who lend than from those who borrow; and I have seen a citizen, the son of an Athenian who had commanded armies, punished with death, because having borrowed great sums, he had not furnished sufficient securities.[g]

As Attica produces but little corn, the exportation of it is prohibited,[h] and those who fetch it from distant countries are forbidden, under rigorous penalties, to carry it to any other market but that of Athens.[i] A great quantity is brought from Egypt and Sicily,[k] and a still greater from Panticapæum and Theodosia, cities of the Chersonesus Taurica, be-

* In the Metonic cycle the month Munychion began, at the soonest, on the 28th of March of the Julian year, and the month Boedromion, on the 23d of August, so that the ships kept the sea from the beginning of April to the end of September.

[e] Demosth. in Apat. p. 937. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 429. [f] Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 822. [g] Demosth. in Phorm. p. 947. [h] Ulp. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Timocr. p. 822. [i] Demosth. in Lacrit. p. 956. Id. in Phorm. p. 945. Liban. in Demosth. adv. Theocr. p. 848. [k] Demosth. adv. Dionys. p. 1122.

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cause the sovereign of that country, the master of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, has exempted the Athenian vessels from paying the duty of the thirtieth which he levies on the exportation of that commodity.—In consequence of this privilege they trade in preference to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, from which Athens receives annually four hundred thousand medimni of corn.[l]

They import from Panticapæum, and the different coasts of the Euxine sea, timber for building, slaves, salt, honey, wax, wool, leather, and goat-skins;[m]* from Byzantium, and some other parts of Thrace and Macedonia, salt-fish and timber;[n] from Phrygia and Miletus, carpets, coverlets for beds, and the fine wool of which they make their cloths;[o] from the islands of the Ægean sea, wine, and the various kinds of fruits which they produce; and from Thrace, Thessaly, Phrygia, and many other countries, a greater number of slaves.

Oil is the only commodity which Solon has permitted them to exchange for foreign merchandise:[p] the exportation of all the other productions of Attica is prohibited; nor is it permitted to carry out of

[l] Demosth. in Leptin. p. 945. [m] Id. in Lacrit. p. 953 et 954. Id. in Phorm. p. 941. Polyb. lib. 4. p. 306. * The same trade still subsists. A great quantity of salt-fish, corn, leather, wool, &c. are annually exported from Caffa (the ancient Theodosia) and the environs. (Voyag. de Chardin. t. i. p. 108 et 117.) [n] Thucyd. lib. 4. c. 108. Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 5. c. 3. p. 106. Athen. lib. 3. p. 117 et 120. [o] Aristoph. in Av. v. 493. Id. in Lysistr. v. 730. Id. In Ran. v. 549. Spanh. ibid. [p] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 91.

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the country, without paying heavy duties,[q] timber for building, such as fir, cypress, plane, and other trees which grow in the environs of Athens.

The Athenians find a great source for their commerce in their silver mines. As several states practise the debasing of their coin, the money of Athens, in greater estimation than that of other countries, procures them an advantageous exchange.[r] In general, they purchase wine in the islands of the Ægean sea, or on the coasts of Thrace; for it is principally by means of this commodity that they traffic with the people who inhabit the borders of the Euxine sea.[s] The taste conspicuous in the works of their artists renders the productions of their industry every where in great request. They export to distant countries swords, and arms of different kinds, cloths, beds, and various utensils. Books themselves are with them an article of trade.[t]

They maintain correspondents in almost all the places to which they are attracted by the hope of gain; and, on the other hand, many of the states of Greece appoint agents at Athens to superintend the interests of their trade.[u]

Those foreigners who have settled at Athens may, after having paid the tax imposed on them, buy and sell in the public market;[x] but all other strangers must expose their merchandise to sale in the Piræus.

[q] Theophr. Charact. c. 23. Casaub. ibid. p. 160. [r] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 805. Polyb. Excerpt. Leg. p. 833 et 842. Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 922 [s] Demosth. in Lacrit. p. 249 et 254. Polyb. lib. 4. p. 306. [t] Xen. Exped. Cyr. lib. 7. p. 412. [u] Demosth. in Callip. p. 1099. [x] Id. in Eubul. p. 887.

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And that corn may not rise above its ordinary price, which is five drachmas the medimnus,[y]* every citizen is prohibited, under pain of death, from buying above a certain quantity.[z]† The same punishment is denounced against the inspectors of corn if they neglect to prevent a monopoly;[a] a practice at all times forbidden to individuals, but in some places employed by the government to augment its revenues.[b]

The greater part of the Athenians employ their money in trade; but they are not permitted to lend it for any place but Athens.[c] They receive an interest for the use of it, which is not fixed by the laws, but stipulated in a contract, deposited either in the hands of a banker,[d] or some friend to both parties. If, for instance, a voyage is to be made to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, the instrument specifies the time of the departure of the vessel, the kind of commodities with which she is to be freighted, the sale which is to be made of them in the Bosphorus, and the merchandise which she is to bring back to Athens;[e] and as the duration of the voyage is uncertain, some agree that their money shall not be payable till the return of the vessel; while others, more timid, and contented with

[y] Demosth. in Phorm. p. 946. * Five drachmas, 4 liv. 10*s.* (3*s.* 9*d.*) The medimnus was about four of our bushels (Goguet, de l'Origine de Lois, &c. tom. iii. p. 260. [z] Lys. in Dardan, p. 388. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 420. † The text of Lysias has πεντήκοντα φορμῶν, which may be rendered fifty baskets; it is a measure, the exact value of which is not known. [a] Lys. in Dardan. p. 392. [b] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 1. c. 11. t. ii. p. 309. [c] Demosth. in Lacrit. p. 957. [d] Id. in Phorm. p. 941. [e] Id. in Lacrit. p. 949.

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a less profit, require that it shall be repaid at the Bosphorus, immediately after the sale of the goods carried out;[f] in which case they either themselves repair to the place where they are to receive it, or send thither some person in whom they can confide, and whom they empower to act for them.[g]

The lender has less security either on the merchandise or the goods of the borrower;[h] but as the dangers of the sea are in part risked by the former,[i] and the profit of the latter may be very considerable, the interest of money thus lent may rise as high as thirty per cent. more or less, according to the length and hazards of the voyage.[k]

The usury of which I have spoken is known by the name of maritime; that called landed, is more oppressive and no less variable.

Those who, without risking the dangers of the sea, wish to derive profit from their money, lend it to bankers or other persons at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum;[l] or rather one per cent. for every new moon.[m] But as the laws of Solon do not prohibit those who have money from demanding the most extravagant interest for it,[n] some persons[o] receive more than sixteen per cent. monthly,[p] and others, especially

[f] Demost. in Phorm. p. 943. [g] Id. ibid. p. 944. [h] Id. in Lacrit. p. 950, 951, &c. [i] Id. in Phorm. p. 940 et 944. [k] Id. ibid. p. 943. Id. in Lacrit. p. 948. Id. in Pantæn. p. 988. [l] Id. in Aphob. p. 900. Id. in Pantæn. p. 988. Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 444. [m] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 17. Schol. ibid. Duport. in Theophr. Charact. c. 10. p. 349. [n] Lys. in Theomn. p. 179. [o] Plat. de Rep. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 555. [p] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 403.

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among the lower classes of people, exact every day the quarter of the principal.[q] These extortions are not concealed, and cannot be punished, except by the public opinion, which condemns,[r] but does not sufficiently despise those who are guilty of them.

Commerce increases the circulation of wealth, and this circulation has given birth to the occupation of bankers, which facilitates it still more. A person who is about to make a voyage, or who fears to keep by him too great a sum of money, lodges it in the hands of these bankers, sometimes only as a trust, and without requiring any interest, and sometimes on condition of sharing with them the profit it shall produce.[s] They advance money to generals who go to take on them the command of armies,[t] or other individuals who stand in need of their assistance.

In the greater part of bargains made with them no witnesses are required.[u] They content themselves with entering in a register that such a person has deposited in their hands such a sum, which they must repay to such another, if the former should happen to die.[x] It would sometimes be very difficult to prove that they have received a sum of money were they to deny it; but if they should expose themselves to such a charge more than once, they would lose the con-

[q] Theophr. Charact. c. 6. Casaub. ibid. [r] Demosth. in Pantæn. p. 994. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 1. c. 10. [s] Herald. Animadver. in Salmas. p. 178 et 182. [t] Demosth. in Timoth. p. 1074. [u] Isocr. in Trapez. t. ii. p. 449. [x] Demosth. in Callip. p. 1098.

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fidence of the public, on which depends their success in the business in which they have engaged.[y]

By employing the money deposited in their hands, and lending it at a greater interest than they are to pay for it,[z] they amass riches,[a] which gain them friends, whose protection they purchase by assiduous services.[b] But all is lost when, unable to call in their money, they are incapable of fulfilling their engagements.[c] They are then obliged to conceal themselves,[d] and can only escape the severity of justice by surrendering all their remaining property to their creditors.[e]

Those who wish to exchange foreign money, as darics, cyziceni, &c. for these are current in commerce,[f] apply to the bankers,[g] who by different means, as the touchstone and the balance, examine whether they are not adulterated or deficient in weight.[h]

The money of the Athenians is of three kinds. It appears that they first coined silver, and afterwards gold. It is only within this century that they have made use of copper for that purpose.[i]

The silver coins are the most common. It has

[y] Isocr. in Trapez. page 458. Demosth. in Phorm. p. 965. [z] Herald. Animadv. in Salmas. p. 182. [a] Demosth. in Phorm. p. 959 et 965. [b] Isocr. in Trapez. p. 449. [c] Demosth. in Timoth. p. 1083. [d] Id. in Apat. p. 934. [e] Id. in Phorm. p. 966. [f] Lys. in Eratosth. p. 194. [g] Menand. ap. Phrynich. Eclog. p. 192. Lysias, ap. Poll. lib. 7. cap. 33. § 170. Theocr. Idyll. 12. v. 37. Poll. lib. 3. c. 9. § 84. Herald. Animadv. in Salmas. p. 176 et 177. [h] Theocr. ibid. Lysias. in Theomn. p. 179. Lucian. in Hermot. t. i. p. 810. Poll. ibid. Hesych. in Αργυρογν. et in Οβολ. [i] Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. ii. p. 224.

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been found necessary to have them of different values, for the pay of the troops, which frequently varies; for the bounties from time to time granted to the people, and for the convenience of trade. Above the drachma,* consisting of six oboli, is the didrachm, or double drachma, and the tetradrachm, or quadruple drachma; below, are the pieces of four, three, and two oboli, after which come the obolus, and the semi-obolus.[k]† The latter, though of small value, not being sufficiently convenient for the dealings of the common people, copper money was coined about the beginning of the Peloponnesian war,[l] and pieces of that metal were struck which were not worth more than the eighth part of an obolus.[m]*

The largest piece of gold weighs two drachmas, and is worth twenty silver drachmas.[n]‡

Gold was very scarce in Greece when I first arrived in that country. It was brought from Lydia, and some other parts of Asia Minor; from Macedonia, where the peasants daily collected the small pieces which the rains washed down from the neighbouring mountains;[o] and from the island of Thasos, the mines of which, formerly discovered by the Phœ-

* 18 sols (9*d.*) [k] Poll. lib. 9. c. 6. § 62. † 12 sols (6*d.*), 9 sols (4½*d.*), 6 sols (3*d.*), 3 sols (1½*d.*), 8 deniers (½*d.*) [l] Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 810. Id. in Ran. v. 737. Schol. et Spanh. ibid. Callim. ap. Athen. lib. 15. c. 3. p. 669. Spanh. in Nub. Aristoph. v. 861. Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. v. p. 219. et alii. [m] Philem. ap. Poll. lib. 9. cap. 6. § 65. * 4½ deniers (three-fourths of a farthing.) [n] Hesych. in Χρυς. ‡ 18 livres (15 shillings.) [o] Thucyd. lib. 4. c. 105. Aristot. t. i. p. 1153. Strab. lib. 7. p. 331.

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nicians, still exhibit proofs of the immense labours formerly undertaken by that industrious people.[p]

In certain cities a part of this precious metal is employed for the fabrication of money, and almost every where it is used to make ornaments for the women, and offerings to the gods.

Two events which happened while I was in Greece rendered gold more common. Philip king of Macedon having been informed that there were in his dominions gold-mines that had anciently been worked, but since abandoned, caused those near Mount Pangæus to be opened.[q] The success of this undertaking exceeded his most sanguine expectations; and that prince, who before possessed no gold but a small phial which he placed every night under his pillow,[r] drew annually from these mines more than a thousand talents.[s]* At the same time the Phocians carried off from the treasure at Delphi the golden offerings which the kings of Lydia had sent to the temple of Apollo;[t] and the quantity of that metal in Greece was soon so much increased, that its proportion to silver was no longer one to thirteen, as it had been a century before,[u] nor one to twelve, as it was some time after,[x] but only one to ten.[y]

[p] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 46 et 47. Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 100. Plut. in Cim. tom. 1. p. 487. [q] Senec. Quæst. Nat. lib. 5. p. 773. Strab. lib. 7. p. 331. [r] Athen. lib. lib. 6. c. 4. p. 231. [s] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 413. * About 1,400,000 livres (above 58,000*l.*) [t] Athen. ibid. p. 232. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 456. [u] Herodot. lib. 3. c. 95. [x] Plat. in Hipparch. t. ii. p. 231. [y] Menand. ap. Poll. lib. 9. c. 6. § 76.

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CHAPTER LVI.

Of the Taxes and Finances of the Athenians.

THE revenues of the republic of Athens have sometimes amounted to the sum of two thousand talents :[1]* and these revenues are of two kinds ; those which are raised in the country itself, and those that are drawn from the tributary cities and states.

In the first class are to be enumerated, 1st. The product of the houses, lands, and woods, appertaining to the republic, and which it farms out for a certain sum.[a]

2d. The twenty-fourth, which it reserves to itself, from the silver mines, when permission to work them is granted to individuals.[b]

3d. The annual tribute received from freedmen, and from the ten thousand foreigners settled in Attica.[c]

4th. The fines and confiscations, the greater of which go to the treasury of the state.[d]

5th. The fifth levied on the corn and other mer-

[1] Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 685. * 10,800,000 livres (450,000*l.*)
[a] Andocid. de. Myster. p. 12. Xen. Rat. Redit. p. 926. Demosth. in Eubulid. p. 891. [b] Suid in Ατράφ. μετάλ.
[c] Harpocrat. in Μετοίκ. [d] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 791. Id. in Macart. p. 1039. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 392.

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chandise imported,[e] as also on several commodities which are exported from the Piræus.[f]*

6th. A number of other taxes of less importance,[g] such as those paid by certain commodities exposed to sale in the market,[h] and that levied on such as keep courtesans in their houses.[i]

The greater part of these duties are farmed. They are put up by auction, in a public place, in the presence of ten magistrates, who receive the different offers, and assign them to the best bidder.[ii] I once had the curiosity to be present at a meeting of this kind, and observed the conduct of the several competitors. Some endeavoured to deter their rivals by threats, others to sooth them with promises, while others dissembled their union under the appearances of hatred. After some offers and slow advances, the farm was about to be continued to those who had before held it, when a stranger bid another talent. The alarm was immediately spread among them. They demanded that he should give securities, for this is a necessary condition. He gave them; and, as they could no longer invent any objection, they entered into a secret negotiation with him, and ended by associating him with themselves.[k]

[e] Demosth. in Neær. p. 865. Id. in Lacrit. p. 952. Etymol. Magn. in Πεντηκοστ. [f] Theophr. Charact. c. 23. Casaub. ibid. p. 160. Donat. in Terent. Phorm. v. 100. * See note X. at the end of the volume. [g] Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 809. Poll. lib. 8. c. 10. § 132. [h] Demosth. in Eubulid. p. 887. [i] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 278. Poll. lib. 7. c. 33. § 202. lib. 9 c. 5. § 29. [ii] Harpocr. et Suid. in Πωλητ. Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 99. [k] Andocid. de Myster. p. 17. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 193.

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The farmers of the duties must, before the ninth month of the year, remit the sum stipulated to the receivers of the revenue. When they fail in their engagements they are thrown into prison, condemned to pay double, and deprived of a part of the privileges of citizens, till they have discharged the debts due to the state. Their securities are subject to the same penalties.[l]

The second and principal branch of the revenues of the state consists in the tributes which are paid by a number of cities and islands dependent on it.[m] Its claims of this kind are founded on the abuse of power. After the battle of Platæa,[n] the conquerors having resolved to revenge on Persia the insults offered to Greece, the inhabitants of the islands who had entered into the league, agreed to set apart every year a considerable sum to defray the expenses of the war. The Athenians, who were to receive the money, collected, in different places, four hundred and sixty talents,* which they kept untouched, so long as they had not a decided superiority; but when their power increased, they changed the gratuitous contributions of the allied cities into an humiliating exaction, imposing on some the obligation to furnish ships whenever they should be called on,[o] and demanding of others the annual tribute to which they had formerly subjected themselves. They taxed their

[l] Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Timocr. p. 812. [m] Aristoph. in Vesp. p. 705. [n] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 19. et 96. Plut. in Aristid. t. i. p. 333. Nep. in Aristid. c. 3. Pausan. lib. 8. p. 705. * 2,484,000 livres 108,500*l*. [o] Thucyd. lib. 6. c. 85; lib. 7. c. 57.

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new conquests in the same manner; and the sum total of the foreign contributions amounted, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, to six hundred talents,[p] * and towards the middle of the same war to twelve or thirteen hundred.[q] During my stay in Greece the conquests of Philip had reduced this sum to four hundred talents, but the Athenians flattered themselves they should again be able one day to advance it to twelve hundred.[r] †

These revenues, considerable as they are, are not sufficient to defray the expenses of the states; recourse is frequently obliged to be had to free gifts and forced contributions.[s]

Sometimes the senate declares to the general assembly the pressing necessities of the state; on hearing which some endeavour to make their escape, and others keep a profound silence, while the reproaches of the people force them to blush either for their avarice or their poverty. At length others declare aloud the sum they are willing to contribute to the service of the republic, and receive such applauses that the merit of their generosity may be doubted.[t]

Sometimes each of the ten tribes, and all the citizens that compose it are taxed in proportion to their property; so that an individual who has pos-

[p] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 13. Plut. in Aristid. t. i. p. 333. * 3,240,000 livres 135,000*l.* [q] Andocid. de Pace, p. 24. Plut. in Aristid. t. i. p. 333. [r] Plut. t. ii. p. 842. † 6,480,000 livres 270,000*l.* See note XI. at the end of the volume. [s] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 788. [t] Theophr. Charact. c. 22. Casaub. ibid. p. 155. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 195.

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sessions within the districts of different tribes must pay in several places.[u] The collection of this tax is often attended with great difficulties. At first the person who failed in his payment might be imprisoned; but this practice was abolished, as contrary to the nature of the government. In general, time is allowed; and when that is expired, the goods are seized and sold by auction.[x]

Of all the branches of taxation, that for the maintenance of the navy is certainly the heaviest. It is not long since two or three rich individuals fitted out a galley at their joint expense.[y] A law was afterwards enacted, that still subsisted at the time of my arrival in Greece, which taxed, according to the number of the tribes, distributed into ten classes of a hundred and twenty persons each, all the citizens who possessed land, manufactories, or money employed in trade, or placed in the hands of bankers. As these divided among them almost all the riches of Attica, they were obliged to pay all the taxes, and especially to keep up and increase, in case of need, the naval force of the republic. Each of them being only obliged to furnish his contingent every other year,[z] the twelve hundred persons liable to contribute were subdivided into two great classes of six hundred each, of which three hundred were richer than the

[u] Demosth. in Polycl. p. 1085. [x] Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 18. Demosth. in Androt. p. 705 et 707. Id in Timocr. p. 798. [y] Lys. in Polyeuch. p. 327. Demosth. in Mid. p. 628. [z] Isæus de Success. Apollod. p. 67. Demosth. in Leptin. p. 542. Id in Polycl. passim. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 274.

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other three hundred. The former were answerable for the latter, and advanced money in cases of emergence.[a]

When an armament was to be fitted out, each of the ten tribes levied in its district the same number of talents as there were galleys to be equipped, and demanded them from the same number of companies, composed sometimes of sixteen persons liable to contribute.[b] These sums, when collected, were distributed to the trierarchs or captains of the ships,[c] two of which were appointed to each galley, and served six months each.[d] They were to provide for the subsistence of the crew,[e] for, in general, the republic only furnished the rigging and sailors.[f]

The arrangement which I have described was defective, since it too much retarded the operations, and because, without having regard to the inequality of fortunes, those who were richest sometimes did not contribute more than one-sixteenth part to the fitting-out of a galley. Towards the latter years of my stay in Greece, Demosthenes procured another decree to be passed, which renders the collection of this tax more easy and equitable; the substance of it was as follows:

Every citizen whose fortune amounts to ten talents, must, in case of need, furnish the state with a

[a] Demosth. de Class. p. 135. Id. in Phœnip. p. 1023. Ulpian. in Olynth. 2. p. 33. [b] Demosth. de Cor. p. 490. [c] Id. in Mid. p. 628. Ulpian ibid. p. 682. [d] Id. in Polycl. p. 1089 et 1093, &c. [e] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 349. [f] Demosth. in Mid. p. 628.

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galley; if he possesses twenty talents he shall furnish two; but however rich he may be, no more shall be required of him than three galleys and a boat. Those whose substance is less than ten talents shall join to contribute a galley.[g]

This tax, from which the archons alone are exempted,[h] is proportioned, as much as possible, to the abilities of the citizens; the weight of it always falls on those who are the wealthiest, and it is founded on the principle that taxes ought not to be laid on the persons but the property.[i]

As the fortunes of some persons may increase while those of others diminish, Demosthenes suffered the law of exchanges to subsist. Every year the magistrates who have the administration of the marine department permit every contributor to give information against any person who is less taxed than himself, though he has become, or may always have been more wealthy. If the person named admits the augmentation or superiority of his fortune, he is substituted for the informant in the list of contributors; if he does not admit it, a trial is had, and he is frequently obliged to exchange his property for that of his accuser.[k]

The appointments granted to the commanders of the galleys, either by the government or their respective tribes, would be insufficient, did not their zeal

[g] Demosth. de Cor. page 490. [h] Id. in Leptin. page 540. [i] Id. in Androt. p. 707. [k] Id in Philipp. 1. p. 52. Id. in Phœnip. p. 1023 et 1027.

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and emulation supply the defect. As it is to their interest to distinguish themselves from their rivals, many of them spare no expense to procure the best ships and sailors,[l] and others increase, at their own expense, the pay of their men, which is commonly fixed at three oboli a day.*

This emulation, excited by the hope of honours and rewards,[m] is extremely beneficial in a state in which every war necessarily exhausts the public treasury, and intercepts the revenues. So long as the war continues, the tributary cities and islands, incessantly menaced or subjugated by the enemy, are unable to send any succours to the republic, and even necessitated to have recourse to it for assistance. In these critical circumstances its fleets carry desolation to distant coasts, and sometimes return loaded with plunder. When they are able to make themselves masters of the strait of the Hellespont,[n] they exact from all the vessels which trade to the Euxine sea the tenth of the merchandise they carry, and this resource has more than once saved the state.

The obligation to furnish ships and contributions in money ceases with the war; but it is customary for the rich citizens to give entertainments, on certain days, to their fellow citizens of the same tribe, to contribute to the support of the gymnasia, and to procure, for the public games, choruses to dispute the

[l] Demosth. in Polycl. p. 1084. * Nine sols (4½*d.*) [m] Lys. in Mun. Accept. Def. p. 378. [n] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 1. p. 430. Demosth. in Leptin. p. 549.

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prize in dancing and music.[o] Some voluntarily undertake to defray these expenses; others are appointed by the choice of their tribe, and cannot refuse unless they have obtained an exemption by services which they have rendered the state.[p] Both have claims to the favour of the people, who indemnify, by employments and honours, those who have ruined themselves to give splendours to their festivals.

Several companies of officers elected by the people are appointed to inspect the administration of the finances, and each of the ten tribes names an officer to the greater part of these companies. Some of them[q] grant the farms of the duties on importation, deliver out, at a certain rate, the permissions for the working of mines, preside at the sale of confiscated goods, &c. Others enter in a register the sum that each citizen must contribute in cases of urgent necessity.[r]

The different kinds of revenues are deposited in so many different treasuries, which are each in particular under the management of ten receivers or treasurers, with whom the senate regulates the destination of the sums received,[s] conformably to the decrees of the people, and in presence of two comp-

[o] Lys. in Mun. Defens. p. 374. Demosth. in Mid. p. 605 et 628. Argum. ejusd. Orat. p. 601. Harpocr. in Ἑστιάτ. [p] Demosth. in Leptin. p. 545, &c. [q] Harpocr. in Πωλητ. Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 99. [r] Harpocr. et Etymol. Magn. in Επιγρ. Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 103. [s] Harpocr. in Αποδεκτ. et in Ελληνοτ. Suid. in Αποδεκτ. Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 97, &c.

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trollers, who keep a register, the one in the name of the senate, and the other in behalf of the administrators.[t]

The receivers of the public money keep lists of the sums in which the citizens are respectively taxed.[u] They efface, in the presence of the senate, the names of those who have paid, and lodge an information before one of the tribunals against those who have not. The tribunal names inquisitors,[x] who are appointed to prosecute the latter in due course of law and who proceed, in case payment is refused, even to the confiscation of their goods. Recourse, however, is only had to the tribunals in cases of importance: on other occasions it is left to the receivers to terminate the disputes which arise in their department.[y]

The receivers, into whose hands fines are paid, possess the singular right of revising the sentences of the judges, in the first instance, and moderating or remitting the fine if they think it too heavy.[z]

The expenses relative to the war, and all the parts of the administration, are assigned on the different treasuries of which I have just spoken. In time of war the laws direct that the surplus of the other treasuries shall be paid into the military;[a] but a decree of the people is necessary to change the order of the assignations.

Every year considerable sums are deposited in a

[t] Harpocr. in Αιτιγρ. [u] Id. et Suid. in Αποδέκτ. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 6. c. 8. [x] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 775. [y] Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 97. [z] Lys. pro Milit. p. 163 et 165. Poll. ibid. [a] Demosth. in Neær. p. 861.

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treasury superintended by particular officers, which are to be publicly distributed to enable the poorer citizens to pay for their places at the public shows.[b] The people will not suffer this money to be touched; and we have seen them, in our time, decree that the punishment of death should be inflicted on the orator who should propose to employ it in the service of the state when exhausted by a long war.[c] The annals of nations do not afford a second example of such madness.

[b] Harpocr. in Θεωρ. [c] Ulpian. in Olynth. 1. p. 13. Liban. Argum. ejusd. Orat.

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CHAPTER LVII.

Continuation of an Athenian Library.—Logic.

BEFORE my journey through the provinces of Greece, I had passed several days in the library of Euclid; and, on my return to Athens, I renewed my visits.

He showed me, on some ranges of shelves, the works which treat on logic and rhetoric, placed beside each other, because these two sciences are intimately connected.[d] There are but few of them, said he, for it is only within about a century that attempts have been made to investigate the arts of thinking and speaking. We are indebted for them to the Greeks of Italy and Sicily, and they were the fruit of that impulse which the philosophy of Pythagoras gave to the human mind.

In justice to Zeno of Elea, we ought not to forget that he first published an essay on logic;[e] but in honour of Aristotle it is our duty to add, that he brought the methods of reasoning to such perfection that he may be considered as the inventor of the art.[f]

Habit teaches us to compare two or more ideas in order to discover and show to others their connection

[d] Aristot. de Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 1. t. ii. p. 512. Sext. Empir. adv. Logic. lib. 7. p. 370. [e] Diog. Laërt. in Procem. § 18. Arist. ap. eund. lib. 8. § 37; lib. 9. § 25. [f] Aristot. Sophist. Elench. c. 34. t. i. p. 314.

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or opposition. This is natural logic, and would be sufficient for a people which, deprived of the faculty of generalising their ideas, should only see, in nature and civil life, individual objects. They would be frequently deceived in their principles, because they would be very ignorant; but their consequences would be just, because their notions would be clear, and always expressed by the proper words.

But among enlightened nations, the human mind, by exercising itself in generals and abstractions, has created an ideal world, of which it is perhaps as difficult to acquire a knowledge as of the natural. To the astonishing number of perceptions received by the senses is added the prodigious multitude of combinations formed by the mind, the fecundity of which is so great that it is impossible to assign its limits.

If we likewise consider that among the objects of our thoughts a very great number have sensible relations which seem to identify them, and slight differences which in effect distinguish them, we shall admire the courage and sagacity of those who first formed and executed the design of reducing to order and arranging the ideas which men had till then conceived, and which they might conceive in time to come.

This is, perhaps, one of the sublimest efforts of the human mind; it is at least one of the greatest discoveries of which the Greeks can boast. We have received from the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and perhaps from some more remote nation, the elements of almost every science and every art; but posterity

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shall be indebted to us for that method, the happy artifice of which subjects reasoning to rules. Let us proceed to cast a rapid glance over its principal parts.

There are things which we are contented with indicating, without denying or affirming any thing concerning them. Thus I say *a man, a horse, a two-footed animal;* there are others that are signified by words which contain an affirmation or negation.

However numerous the former may be, ten classes have been invented into which they may be distributed; one containing the substance, and the others its modes. To the first of these are referred all substances, as *man, horse,* &c.;[g] to the second the quantity of whatever nature it may be, as the number, the time, the extent, &c.;[h] to the third the quality; and under this name are comprised, 1st. The habits, such as the virtues and the sciences; 2d. The natural dispositions which render one man more apt than another to certain exercises; 3d. Sensible qualities, as, *sweetness, bitterness, cold, heat, colour;* 4th. The form or figure, as *round, square,* &c.[i]

The other classes contain the different kinds of relations, actions, situations, possessions, &c. in such a manner that these ten classes comprise all beings and manners of being. They are named categories, or attributes, because nothing can be attributed to any subject which is not substance, or quality, or quantity, &c.

[g] Aristot. Categ. c. 4. t. i. p. 15. [h] Id. ibid. c. 6. [i] Id. ibid. c. 8. p. 26.

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To have reduced the objects of our thoughts to so small a number of classes was to have effected much, but more still remained to be done. If we attentively examine each category, we shall soon perceive that it is susceptible of a multitude of subdivisions, which we conceive as subordinate one to the other; let us explain this by an example drawn from the first category.

In infancy the mind only sees and conceives individual objects;* we still call them first substances,[k] either because they first attract our notice, or because they are in effect the most real substances.

But, in time, those objects which have the most striking resemblance, presenting themselves to us with a sameness of form and appearance, we distribute them into several distinct classes:[l] thus from the ideas of such and such a man, and such and such a horse, we have formed the specific idea of a man and a horse.

As the different branches of the same family ascend to one common origin, in like manner various species which approach each other by strong marks of conformity are ranged under one genus or kind.[m] Thus, from the specific ideas of a man, a horse, an ox, and all beings which possess life and feeling, is constituted the generical idea of an *animal*, or *living being*, for these expressions in our language mean the

* Individuals are in Greek called *atoms* or indivisibles. Aristot. Categ. c. 2. p. 15. [k] Id. ibid. c. 5. t. i. p. 16. [l] Id. Topic. lib. 9. c. 7. t. i. p. 184. [m] Id. Metaph. lib. 5. c. 28. t. ii. p. 901.

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same thing. Above this genus we conceive others more comprehensive, such as *substance*, till at length we arrive at the principal of all, which is *being*.

In this scale, in which Being occupies the highest place, and by which we descend to individuals, each intermediate degree may be genus with regard to that below, and species with respect to that above it.

Philosophers have employed themselves to invent similar systems of affinity and gradation for all the objects in nature or perceptions of the mind; they enable them more easily to follow the generations of ideas, and to go through the different classes from rank to rank, as a general reviews his army.[o] Sometimes, considering the genus as *unity*, or *finitude*, the species as *plurality*, and the individuals as *infinitude*, they discuss various questions on the nature of finitude and infinitude, unity and plurality; questions which then only turn on the nature of the genus, the species, and individuals.[p]

Each species is distinguished from its genus by an essential attribute which characterises it, and which is named *difference*.[q] Reason being in man the noblest and most incommunicable of his privileges, he is by that distinguished from other animals.* If, therefore, we join to the generic idea of an animal the idea of rational, we shall have the specific idea of man.[r] It is no less difficult than important to ascertain the differences included under the same genus, and those

[o] Plat. de Rep. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 534. [p] Id. in Phileb. Id. in Parm. [q] Aristot. Topic. lib. 6. c. 4. t. i. p. 245; c. 6. p. 248.
* See note XII. at the end of the volume. [r] Porphyr. Isagog. ap. Aristot. t. i. p. 7.

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of the species comprised under genera which have affinity between themselves. By employing ourselves in this research, we discover in each species properties which are inherent in it, and modifications which are accidental to it.

The question here is not concerning that property which is confounded with the essence of a thing, but that by which it may be distinguished.[s] In this point of view, it is an attribute which belongs only to the species, and originates from that principal attribute which we have named the difference. Man is capable of learning certain sciences; this is one of his properties; it arises from his faculty of reason, and applies only to his species. His capacity of sleeping, or that of moving his body, cannot be properties, since he possesses them in common with other animals.[t]

The accident is a mode, an attribute, which the mind easily separates from the thing. *To be seated* is an accident to a man, and *whiteness* to a body.[u]

The ideas of which we have hitherto spoken, not being accompanied either by affirmation or negation, are neither true nor false.[x] Let us now proceed to those which may receive one of these characters.

An enunciation is a proposition by which something is affirmed or denied.[y] The enunciation, therefore, is alone, susceptible of truth or falsehood. The other forms of discourse, as prayer, or command, contain neither of these.

[s] Aristot. Topic. lib. 1. c. 4 et 5. [t] Id. ibid. et lib. 5. c. 3. p. 230. [u] Id. ibid. lib. 1. c. 5. p. 183. [x] Id. de Interpr. c. 1. t. i. p. 37. [y] Ibid. c. 4 et 5.

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In every enunciation several ideas are united or separated. In it is distinguished the subject, the verb, and the attribute. In this, for example, *Socrates is wise; Socrates* is the subject, *is* the verb, and *wise* the attribute.

The subject signifies that which is placed beneath, and is so called because it expresses the thing spoken of, which is submitted to the attention; or, perhaps, because being less universal than the attributes which it is to receive, it is in some measure subordinate to them.[z]

The subject expresses sometimes an idea which is universal and belongs to many individuals, as those of man and animal; and sometimes a particular idea which can only belong to one individual, as those of Callias and Socrates.[a] According as it is universal or particular, the enunciation in which it is contained is also universal or particular.

That a universal subject may be taken in its whole extent, the words *all* or *none* must be joined with it. The word *man* is a universal term. If I say *every man*, or *no man*, I take it in its utmost extent. If I say *some man*, I restrain its universality.

The verb is a sign which declares that such an attribute agrees to such a subject.[b] It was requisite to connect them, and this is effected by the verb *to be*, always expressed or understood: I say understood, because it is implied when other verbs are used; for instance, the words *I go*, signify *I am going*.[c]

With respect to the attribute, we have already

[z] Aristot. Categ. c. 5. t. i. p. 17. [a] Id. de Interpr. c. 7. t. i. p. 39. [b] Id. ibid. c. 3. p. 37. [c] Id. ibid. c. 12. p. 46.

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seen that it is taken from one of the categories which comprise all the different kinds of attributes.[d]

Thus the judgments we form are only operations of the mind by which we affirm or deny one thing of another; or rather they are only glances of the mental eye which perceives that such a property or such a quality may be attributed or not attributed to such an object; for the understanding which makes this discovery is to the soul what the sight is to the eye.[e]

Enunciations are of different kinds; we will say a word of those which, employed on the same subject, are opposed to each other by affirmation or negation. It should seem that the truth of the one must establish the falsehood of the other; but this rule cannot be general, because the opposition between them is of different kinds.

If in both the subject is universal, and taken in its utmost extent, the two enunciations are called contrary, and may be both false;[f] as, for example, *all men are white*; *no man is white*. If it is limited in the one, and not in the other, they are then named contradictory, and the one is true and the other false; as for instance, *all men are white*; *some men are not white*; or *no man is white*; *some men are white*. The opposition of particular enunciations is the same as that of the contradictory, and the one must necessarily be true and the other false; *Socrates is white*; *Socrates is not white*.[g]

[d] Aristot. Topic. lib. 1. c. 9. t. i. p. 185. [e] Id. ibid. lib. 1. c. 17. p. 192. [f] Id. de Interpr. c. 7. t. i. p. 39. [g] Id. Categ. c. 10. t. i. p. 33. Id. de Interpr. c. 7. t. i. p. 40.

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Two particular propositions, the one affirmative and the other negative, are not, properly speaking, opposed to each other; the opposition lies only in the terms. When I say, *some men are just; some men are not just;* I do not speak of the same men.[h]

The preceding notions, and a great number of others which I pass over in silence, were the fruit of a long series of observations. It was however easy to discover that the greater part of our errors originate in the uncertainty of our ideas, and their representative signs. Unacquainted with external objects, except from the information of our senses, we often confound their nature with their qualities and accidents. As to intellectual objects they excite in the generality of minds only obscure, vague, and transient images. The confusion is still more increased by that multitude of equivocal and metaphorical words with which all languages abound, and especially by the great number of universal terms which we employ, frequently without understanding them.

Meditation alone can bring near the objects which this obscurity seems to remove from us. Thus the only difference between an enlightened and an ignorant mind is, that the one views objects at a proper distance, while the other only sees them afar off.[i]

Happily men have only occasion for a certain analogy in ideas, and a certain approximation in language, to fulfil their duties in society. In the com-

[h] Aristot. Analyt. Prior. c. 15. t. i. p. 117

[i] Id. Sophist. Elench. lib. 1. c. 1. t. i. p. 281.

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munication of ideas, discerning minds traffic with good money, of the precise value and fineness of which they are often ignorant; and the rest with counterfeit coin, which is nevertheless received without scruple in trade.

The philosopher ought to employ the most usual expressions;[k] but, carefully distinguishing their acceptations, when they have many, he should determine the precise idea which he annexes to each word.

To define a thing is to make known its nature by characters which will not suffer us to confound it with any other thing.[l] Formerly no rules had been laid down to arrive at or ascertain this exactness. They were established by observing that there can be but one good definition for each thing;[m] that such a definition ought to agree only with the thing defined;[n] that it ought to comprise in it all that is contained in the idea of the thing defined;[o] that it ought to extend to all beings of the same species, as that of man, for example, to all men;[p] that it should be concise, every word which may be omitted is superfluous;[q] that it should be clear, and that consequently no words should be employed that are equivocal, figurative, or seldom used;[r] and that to understand it, it ought not to be necessary to have recourse to the thing defined,

[k] Aristot. Topic. lib. 2. c. 2. t. i. p. 196. [l] Id. ibid. lib. 1. c. 5. t. i. p. 182. [m] Id. ibid. lib. 6. c. 14. t. i. p. 260. [n] Id. ibid. lib. 7. c. 5. p. 264. [o] Id. ibid. lib. 6. c. 5. p. 247. [p] Id. ibid. c. 1. p. 241. [q] Id. ibid. c. 3. p. 243. [r] Id. ibid. c. 2. p. 242.

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since it would otherwise resemble the figures in old pictures, which were not to be known but by their names written under them.[s]

But in what manner may these conditions be fulfilled? We have spoken above of those scales of ideas which lead us from individuals to being in general. We have seen that each species has immediately above it a genus, from which it is distinguished by the difference. An exact definition will be composed of the immediate genus and the difference of the thing defined,[t] and by consequence will comprise its two principal attributes. I define man a rational animal.[u] The genus, *animal*, connects man with all living beings; and the difference, *rational*, distinguishes him from them.

It hence follows, that a definition points out the resemblance of several different things by the genus, and distinguishes them by the difference. Nothing therefore is of more importance than to discern this resemblance and diversity, when we exercise ourselves in the art of thinking and reasoning.[x]

I omit a number of very acute remarks on the nature of the genus and the difference, as also on the various kinds of propositions usually employed in reasoning. As I mean only to give some essays on the progress of the human mind, it will not be requisite that I should collect all the traces of light it has left in its path; but the discovery of the syllogism de-

[s] Aristot. Topic. lib. 6. c. 2. p. 243. [t] Id. ibid. lib. 1. c. 8. p. 185; lib. 6. c. 1. p. 242. [u] Id. ap. Iambl. de Vit. Pythag. c. 6. p. 24. [x] Id. Topic. lib. 1. c. 13, 16 et 17.

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serves that we should bestow on it our attention for a moment.

We have said that, in this proposition, *Socrates is wise; Socrates* is the subject, *wise* the attribute; and that, by the substantive verb which connects them, it is affirmed that the idea of wise agrees to the idea of Socrates.

But how are we to be convinced of the truth or falsehood of a proposition, when the relation of the attribute to the subject is not sufficiently apparent? This is effected by passing from a thing known to the thing unknown;[y] by recurring to a third idea, the double relation of which to the subject and attribute is more perceptible.

To make myself better understood, I shall only consider the affirmative proposition. I doubt if A be equal to B; but if I perceive that A is equal to C, and C to B, I conclude, without hesitation, that A is equal to B.[z]

Thus, to prove that justice is a habit, it is sufficient to show that justice is a virtue, and every virtue a habit.[a] But to give this proof a syllogistical form, let us place the word *virtue* between the subject and the attribute of the proposition, and we shall have these three terms: *justice, virtue, habit.* That in the middle is called *the mean,* either on account of its position, or because it serves as an intermediate object to compare the two others, named the *extremes.*[b] It

[y] Aristot. Metaph. lib. 7. c. 4. t. ii. p. 909. [z] Id. Analyt. Prior. c. 4. t. i. p. 54. [a] Id. de Mor. lib. 2. c. 1. t. ii. p. 17; c. 4. p. 21. [b] Id. Analyt. Prior. c. 4. t. i. p. 54.

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has been demonstrated that the mean ought to be taken universally at least once, and that one of the propositions ought to be universal.[c] I shall then first say,

Every virtue is a habit.

And I shall afterwards say,

But justice is a virtue;

Therefore justice is a habit.

It hence follows, 1st. That a syllogism is composed of three terms, of which the last is the attribute of the second, and the second the attribute of the first.[d] In the above example *habit* is an attribute with regard to *virtue*, and *virtue* an attribute with respect to *justice*.

The attribute being always taken from one of the categories, or from the series of beings which compose them, the relations of the mean to both the extremes will be sometimes the relations of substances, qualities, quantities, &c. and sometimes the relations of genera, species, properties, &c.[e] In the preceding example they are those of genera and species; for *habit* is a genus relative to *virtue*, and *virtue* relatively to *justice*. But it is certain that whatever is true of a superior genus, must be true of all the genera and species in the descending line.[f]

It follows, 2dly, That a syllogism is composed of three propositions. In the two first the mean is compared with each of the extremes, and in the third

[c] Aristot. Topic. lib. 8. c. 1. t. i. p. 267; c. 14. p. 280. [d] Id. Analyt. Prior. c. 4. t. i. p. 54. [e] Id. Top. lib. 1. c. 9. t. i, p. 185. [f] Id. ibid. lib. 4. c. 1. t. i. p. 213; lib. 6. c. 5. p. 247.

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a conclusion is drawn that one of the extremes must be the attribute of the other, which was to be proved.

It follows, 3dly, That a syllogism is a reasoning in which, by making certain assertions, we obtain another different from the first.[g]

The various combinations of the three terms produce different kinds of syllogisms, the greater part of which may be reduced to that we have proposed as an example.[h]

The conclusions likewise vary according as the propositions are affirmative or negative, and according as more or less universality is given to them and to the terms; and hence a number of rules have been invented which discover, at the first view, the accuracy or defect of an argument.

Inductions and examples are employed to persuade the multitude, and syllogisms to convince philosophers.[i] Nothing is so powerful and irresistible as a conclusion drawn from two truths which an opponent is compelled to admit.[k]

This ingenious mechanism is only the developement of the operations of the mind. It had been observed that, except first principles, which convince of themselves,[l] all our assertions are only conclusions, and that they are founded on an act of reasoning which the mind performs with astonishing celerity.

[g] Aristot. Top. lib. 1. c. 1. t. i. p. 180. Id. Sophist. Elench. lib. 1. c. 1. t. i. p. 281. [h] Id. Analyt. Prior. lib. 1. c. 7. t. i. p. 60. [i] Id. Top. lib. 1. c. 12. t. i. p. 188; lib. 8. c. 2. p. 269. [k] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 75. [l] Aristot. Topic. lib. 1. c. 1. t. i. p. 180.

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When I say, *Justice is a habit,* I mentally form the syllogism which I have given at length above.

Sometimes one of the two propositions which it is easy to supply is suppressed, in which case the syllogism is called an enthymem, and though imperfect,[m] is not less conclusive; as for example, *Every virtue is a habit, therefore justice is a habit;* or, *Justice is a virtue, therefore it is a habit.* I shall easily arrive at the same conclusion if I only say, *Since justice is a virtue, it is a habit;* or, *Justice is a habit, since every virtue is a habit:*

Such is this other example, taken from one of our poets,

Mortal, cherish not an immortal hatred.[n]

To change this sentence into a syllogism, we must say: No mortal ought to cherish an immortal hatred; but you are mortal; therefore, &c. To make an enthymem, one of the two first propositions must be suppressed.

Thus every sentence, and every reflection, whether it carries its proof with it, or shows itself without that support, is a real syllogism; with this difference, that in the former case the proof is the mean that connects or separates the attribute from the subject, and that in the latter the mean must be supplied.

Philosophers, by studying attentively the connection of our ideas, have discovered the art of rendering the proofs of our reasonings more evident, and com-

[m] Demet. Fal. de Eloc. c. 32.

[n] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 2. c. 21. t. ii. p. 71.

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pleting and classing the imperfect syllogisms which we incessantly employ. It is easily perceived that to succeed in such an attempt must require an unwearied constancy, and that observing genius which indeed invents nothing, because it adds nothing to nature, but which discovers what has escaped ordinary minds.

Every demonstration is a syllogism, but every syllogism is not a demonstration.[o] A syllogism is demonstrative, when it is established on first principles, or on those which immediately result from them; it is dialetic, when it is founded on opinions which appear probable to all men, or at least to those of the most enlarged understandings;[p] and it is captious, when it concludes from propositions which it is wished to make pass for probable when they are not so.

The first furnishes weapons to philosophers, who search after truth; the second to dialecticians, who are often obliged to content themselves with the probable; and the third to sophists, to whom the smallest resemblance of proof suffices.[q]

As we more frequently reason from opinions than from certain principles, young persons early apply themselves to dialectics, which is the name given to logic when it draws its conclusions only from probabilities.[r] By proposing to them problems, and theses[s]

[o] Aristot. Analyt. Prior. c. 4. t. 1. p. 54. [p] Id. Top. lib. 1. c. 1. t. i. p. 180. [q] Id. ibid. lib. 1. c. 14. t. i. p. 189. Id. Soph. Elench. c. 1. p. 282. Id. Metaph. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 871. [r] Id. Top. lib. 1. c. 2. t. i. p. 181. [s] Id. ibid. c. 11. p. 187.

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in physics, morals, and logic,[t] we accustom them to try their strength on different subjects, to weigh conjectures, alternately to support opposite opinions,[u] and to employ sophistry that they may become acquainted with its artifices.

As our disputes frequently arise from this, that some persons, seduced by example, deal too much in generals; while others, misled by contrary examples, run into the opposite extreme: the former teach us that we ought not to conclude from the particular to the general,[x] and the latter that an exception does not destroy the rule.

The subject in dispute is sometimes discussed by questions and answers.[y] As the object of the question is to elucidate a doubt, and direct the dawning reason, its solution ought neither to be too evident, nor too difficult.[z]

We ought carefully to shun maintaining theses so improbable that the defender of them must quickly be reduced to absurd consequences;[a] as also the discussion of subjects concerning which it is dangerous to doubt; as, whether the gods ought to be honoured, and whether it is our duty to love our parents.[b]

Though it may be to be feared that minds thus habituated to a rigorous precision should ever after preserve an inclination to it, and even join with it

[t] Aristot. Topic. c. 14. p. 189. [u] Id. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 1. t. ii. p. 514. [x] Id. ibid. lib. 1. c. 1. t. ii. p. 517. [y] Id. Topic. lib. 1 c. 8. t. i. p. 268. [z] Id. ibid. lib. 1. c. 11. t. i. p. 187. [a] Id. ibid. lib. 8. c. 9. t. i. p. 275. [b] Id. ibid. lib. 1. c. 11. t. i. p. 187.

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the love of contradiction; it is no less true that they possess a real advantage over others. In the acquisition of the sciences they will be more disposed to doubt, and in their intercourse with the world better able to discover the defect of an argument.

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CHAPTER LVIII.

Continuation of the Library.—Rhetoric.

WHILST the edifice of logic was laboriously erecting, continued Euclid, that of rhetoric rose by its side, less solid it is true, but more elegant and more magnificent.

The former, replied I, might be necessary; but I do not conceive the utility of the latter. Did not Eloquence before exercise her power over the nations of Greece, and even in the heroic ages dispute the prize with Valour?[c] Is not every beauty to be found in the writings of Homer, who ought to be considered as the first of orators, as well as the first of poets?[d] and are they not also to be found in the writings of those men of genius who have followed in his footsteps? When we have so many examples, of what use are so many precepts? It is necessary, replied Euclid, to make a selection of these examples. I answered: Were Pisistratus, Solon, and those orators who, in the assemblies of the people and the tribunals of justice, employed only the persuasive language of a natural eloquence, mistaken in their choice? Why should we substitute the art of speaking to the genius of oratory?

[c] Cicer. de Clar. Orat. c. 10. t. i. p. 344. [d] Hermog. de id. ap. Rhet. Ant. t. i. p. 140.

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That art, replied Euclid, is only intended to restrain the too irregular flights of genius, and to oblige it by restriction to concentrate its powers. You doubt of the advantages to be derived from rhetoric; yet you know that Aristotle, though prejudiced against the art of oratory,[e] nevertheless allowed that it might be useful![f] You doubt of them, yet you have heard Demosthenes! Demosthenes, answered I, without the lessons of his masters, would always have swayed at will the minds of his hearers. Æschines, perhaps, without the assistance of his, would not have expressed himself with so much elegance. You grant then, replied Euclid, that art may give to genius a more pleasing form; I will be equally sincere, and allow that this is nearly all its merit.

Then, approaching the shelves, Here, said he, are the authors that have given us precepts, and also those who have furnished us with examples of eloquence. They almost all lived in the last or present century. Among the former are Corax of Syracuse, Tisias, Thrasymachus, Protagoras, Prodicus, Gorgias, Polus, Lycimnius, Alcidamas, Theodorus, Evenus, Calippus, &c.; among the latter, those who are deservedly held in great estimation, as Lysias, Antiphon, Andocides, Isæus, Callistratus, Isocrates, and those who begin illustriously to distinguish themselves, as Demosthenes, Æschines, Hyperides, Lycurgus, &c.

I have read the works of your orators, replied I, but I am unacquainted with those of the rhetoricians.

[e] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. c. 38. t. i. p. 229. [f] Aristot. Rhet. lib. 1. c. 1. t. ii. p. 514.

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In our preceding conversations you have deigned to instruct me in the progress and present state of several branches of literature: may I venture to request from you the same obliging condescension with respect to rhetoric?

The progress of the sciences, answered Euclid, may be easily known; because, as they have but one way to arrive at the end they propose, we perceive at a single glance the point from which they set out, and that to which they tend. But it is not the same with the arts of imagination; the taste which judges of them being arbitrary, the object they propose frequently indeterminate,[g] and the track they pursue divided into several paths extremely near to each other, it is impossible, or at least very difficult, to ascertain their efforts and their success. How indeed may we discover the first steps of genius, and follow it, with the rule in hand, in its gigantic strides? How also may we be able to separate the light from the false splendors which surround it, define the transient graces which disappear the moment they are analysed, and appreciate, in fine, that supreme beauty which in each kind constitutes its perfection?[h] I shall, since you request me, proceed to give you some remarks which may serve for the history of rhetoric; but on a subject so susceptible of ornament expect from me only a small number of facts and common observations.

Our writers, for several centuries, had only spoken

[g] Aristot. Rhet. lib. 1. c. 1. t. ii. p. 514. [h] Cicer. Orat. c. 11. t. i. p. 428.

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the language of poetry; that of prose appeared to them too familiar and too limited to suffice for all the ideas of the mind, or rather of the imagination, for that was the faculty which was then cultivated with the greatest care. The philosopher Pherecydes of Syros, and the historian Cadmus of Miletus, began, about two centuries since, to emancipate themselves from the rigid laws by which diction was confined.[i] Though they had opened a new and more easy path, it was still imagined so difficult to forsake the old one, that we find Solon attempting to translate his laws into verse,[k] and Empedocles and Parmenides adorning their doctrines with the charms of poetry.

The use of prose, at first, only served to multiply historians.[l] A number of writers published the annals of different nations, and their style presents defects which the revolutions in our taste render extremely sensible. It is clear and concise,[m] but destitute of ornament and harmony. Short sentences succeed each other without support; and the eye is wearied with following them, because it in vain seeks the connection by which they ought to be united. At other times, and especially in the first historians, it abounds with poetical turns, or rather consists wholly of fragments of verse, the measure of which has been broken.[n] We continually perceive that these authors have had poets for their models, and that time has

[i] Strab. lib. 1. p. 18. Plin. lib. 5. c. 29. t. i. p. 278. Suid. in Φερεκ. et in Συγγαφ. [k] Plut. in Sol. t. 1. p. 80. [l] Dionys. Halic. Thucyd. ud. t. vi. p. 818. [m] Id. ibid. p. 820. [n] Demetr. Phal. de Eloc. c. 12. Strab. lib. 1. p. 18.

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been necessary to form the style of prose, as well as to discover the principles of rhetoric.

The first essays in the latter art were made in Sicily.[o] About a hundred years after the death of Cadmus, a Syracusan, named Corax,[p] collected disciples, and composed a treatise on rhetoric still held in esteem,[q] though he makes the secret of eloquence consist only in a deceitful calculation of certain probabilities. The manner in which he proceeds will be best shown by an example. A man strongly suspected of having beaten another, is tried for the assault. He is either stronger or weaker than his accuser. In the former case, says Corax, how can it be believed that he is guilty? or, in the latter, that he should expose himself to appear so?[r] This method, and others similar to it, have been explained and enlarged, in a work which is still extant,[s] by Tisias, a pupil of Corax, who employed them to deprive his master of the salary which he owed him.[t]

Artifices of the same kind had been already introduced into logic, the principles of which had begun to be formed into a system; and from the art of thinking they passed without difficulty into the heart of speaking. The latter was also tinctured with the

[o] Aristot. ap. Cicer. de Clar. Orat. c. 12. t. i. p. 345. Id. de Orat. lib. 1. c. 20. p. 150. Quintil. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 141. [p] Prolegom. in Hermog. ap. Rhet. Ant. t. ii. p. 5. [q] Aristot. Rhetor. ad Alexand. c. 1. t. ii. p. 610. [r] Id. Rhetor. lib. 2. c. 24. t. ii. p. 581. [s] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 273. [t] Proleg. in Hermog. ap. Rhet. Ant. t. ii. p. 6. Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2. p. 307.

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taste for sophistry, and the spirit of contradiction which predominated in the licentious extravagances of the former.

Protagoras, the disciple of Democritus, had been a witness, during his stay in Sicily, to the glory which Corax had acquired. He had before distinguished himself by profound researches into the nature of beings, and soon acquired no less celebrity by the works he published on grammar, and the different parts of the art of oratory. To him also is ascribed the honour of having first collected those general propositions which are called *common-places*,[u] and which an orator employs either to multiply his proofs,[x] or to discourse with facility on every kind of subject.

These places, though very numerous, are reduced to a small number of classes. An action is examined, for example, relatively to the cause, to the effect, to the circumstances, to the persons, &c. and from these relations arise a series of contradictory maxims and propositions, accompanied by their proofs, and all exemplified by questions and answers[y] in the writings of Protagoras, and other rhetoricians who have continued his researches.

After having regulated the manner of constructing the exordium, disposing the narration, and awakening the passions of the judges,[z] the professors of oratory

[u] Cicer. de Clar. Orat. c. 12. t. i. p. 345. Quintil. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 142. [x] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 2. t. ii. p. 518; c. 6, 7, &c. Cicer. Topic. t. i. p. 483. [y] Aristot. Sophist. Elench. lib. 2. t. i. p. 314. [z] Id. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 1. t. ii. p. 513.

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began to extend the empire of eloquence, which had been till then confined to the forum and the bar. Become the rival of poetry, she at first celebrated the gods, the heroes, and citizens who had fallen in battle. Afterward Isocrates composed eulogiums on individuals of distinguished rank.[a] Since that time, men who have served, and men who have been of no utility to their country, have been indiscriminately praised, incense has fumed on every side, and it has been determined that neither praise nor censure ought to be confined by any limits.[b]

These different attempts have employed almost a century, and during that interval the formation of style has been attended to with the same care. Not only has it preserved the riches which in its origin it borrowed from poetry, but endeavours have been made to add to them, and every day it has been adorned with new colours and melodious sounds. These brilliant materials were at first thrown at random one on the other, like the stones which are collected to construct an edifice.[c] Taste and judgment took on them the care of assorting and exhibiting them in a beautiful arrangement. Instead of those unconnected sentences which, wanting strength and support, stumbled almost at every word, groups of well-selected expressions formed a whole, all the parts of which mutually and without difficulty sus-

[a] Isocr. in Evag. t. ii. p. 73. [b] Gorg. ap. Cicer. de Clar. Orator. cap. 12. t. i. p. 346. [c] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. c. 13.

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tained each other. The most delicate ears were delighted to hear the harmony of prose, and the most accurate judgments no less gratified to perceive a thought unfold itself with grace and propriety in a single period.

This happy form, the discovery of those eminent rhetoricians Gorgias, Alcidamas, and Thrasymachus, was brought to perfection by Isocrates, the disciple of the former.[d] The periods of a discourse were then distributed into intervals nearly equal; their members were connected and contrasted by words or thoughts interwoven in them. The words themselves, by frequent inversions, seemed to wind through the space assigned to them, yet so that from the beginning of the sentence the end might be discovered by attentive hearers.[e] This artifice, when skilfully employed, was a source of pleasure, but, too frequently repeated, became so fatiguing, that sometimes, in our assemblies, persons have been known to raise their voices, and finish, before the orator, the long period which he recited with complacency.[f]

Reiterated efforts having at length rendered elocution numerous, flowing, harmonious, adapted to every subject, and susceptible of every passion, language among the Greeks became distinguished into three kinds; that of poetry, which is noble and magnificent; that of conversation, which is simple and mo-

[d] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. c. 12. Cicer. Orat. c. 52. t. i. p. 464. [e] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 12. [f] Id. ibid. c. 15.

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dest; and that of more elevated prose, which approaches more or less to one or other of these, according to the subject on which it is employed.

Orators also are distinguished into two classes: in the first are comprised those who dedicate their eloquence to the instruction of the people in their assemblies, as Pericles; to defend the interests of individuals at the bar, as Antiphon and Lysias; or to adorn philosophy with the brilliant colours of poetry, as Democritus and Plato:[5] in the second are placed those who, only cultivating rhetoric from sordid views of interest or vain ostentation, declaim in public, and pronounce elaborate orations on the nature of government or laws, on manners, sciences, and arts, in which the thoughts are only rendered more obscure by the language.

The greater part of the latter, known by the name of sophists, are spread over all Greece. They travel from city to city, and are every where received with applause, and followed by a great number of disciples, who, desirous to raise themselves to the first stations by their eloquence, pay liberally for their lessons, and, while they attend on their masters, lay in a large stock of those general notions or commonplaces of which I have spoken above.

Their works, which I have collected, are written with so much symmetry and elegance, and contain such a profusion of beauties, that the reader is fatigued with the idea of the labour they must have

[5] Cicer. Orat. c. 20. t. i. p. 436.

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cost their authors. If they sometimes seduce, they never move the passions, because in them paradox holds the place of truth, and the ardour of the imagination that of the warmth of the heart.

They consider rhetoric sometimes as an instrument of persuasion,[h] the exercise of which requires more ingenuity than sentiment, and sometimes as a species of tactics, of which the object is to collect a great number of words, to contract, extend, and sustain them one by another, and make them march intrepidly against the enemy. They have also ambuscades and bodies of reserve, but their principal resource is in the noise and splendour of their arms.[i]

This splendour especially shines in the eulogiums or panegyrics on Hercules and the demi-gods. These are subjects which are chosen in preference, and the rage for encomium has increased to that degree, that it has even extended to inanimate objects.[k] I have a book that is intitled *The Praise of Salt*, in which all the riches of the imagination are exhausted to exaggerate the services which that substance has rendered to mortals.[l]

The impatience which the greater part of these works excite rises even to indignation, when their authors insinuate, or endeavour to demonstrate, that the orator ought to be able equally to procure a

[h] Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 459. [i] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. c. 22. t. i. p. 214. [k] Aristot. de Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 530. [l] Plut. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 177. Isocr. in Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 119.

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triumph for guilt and innocence, falsehood and truth.[m]

It becomes disgust when they found their reasonings on the subtleties of dialectics. The most ingenuous minds, with a view to try their strength, engage in these captious quibbles. Xanthippus, the son of Pericles, used to divert himself with relating that, during the celebration of certain games, a javelin that had carelessly been thrown having accidentally killed a horse, his father and Protagoras passed a whole day in investigating the cause to which the mischance ought to be attributed, whether to the javelin, the hand that threw the javelin, or the institutors of the games.[n]

You may judge from the following example of the enthusiasm which the artifice of eloquence formerly excited. During the Peloponnesian war, a Sicilian arrived in Athens, who filled all Greece with astonishment and admiration.[o] This was Gorgias, whom the inhabitants of Leontium, his native country, had sent to implore our assistance.[p] He ascended the rostrum, and pronounced an harangue, in which he had accumulated the boldest figures, and the most pompous expressions. These frivolous ornaments were distributed into periods, sometimes regulated by the same measure, and sometimes closing with the same cadence.[q] The Athenians were so dazzled with

[m] Plut. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 261. [n] Id. in Pericl. t. i. p. 172. [o] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xv. p. 168. [p] Plat. Hipp. Maj. t. iii. p. 282. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 106. [q] Cicer. Orat. c. 49. t. i. p. 461. Dionys. Halic. Epist. ad Amm. c. 2. t. vi. p. 792; c. 17. p. 808.

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the glare of this artificial language,[r] that they immediately voted that succours should be sent to the Leontines, compelled the orator to settle among them, and ran in crowds to receive from him lessons in rhetoric.[s] The highest praises were lavished on him when he pronounced the eulogium of those citizens who had sacrificed their lives in the service of their country,[t] when, at the theatre, he declared that he was prepared to speak on any subject that should be proposed,[u] and when, at the public games, he recited a discourse to invite the different states of Greece to unite against the barbarians.[x]

On another occasion, the Greeks, assembled at the Pythian games, decreed him a statue, which was placed, in his presence, in the temple of Apollo.[y] In Thessaly his talents had been crowned with still more flattering success. The people of that country were as yet only acquainted with the arts of breaking horses, and enriching themselves by commerce; Gorgias appeared among them, and they quickly aspired to distinguish themselves by the endowments of the mind.[z]

[r] Dionys. Halic. de Lys. t. v. p. 458. [s] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xv. p. 169. [t] Philostr. de Vit. Sophist. lib. 1. p. 493. [u] Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 447. Cicer. de Fin. lib. 2. c. 1. t. ii. p. 101. Id. de Orat. lib. 1. c. 22. t. i. p. 153. Philostr. de Vit. Sophist. p. 482. [x] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. c. 14. t. ii. p. 599. Pausan. lib. 6. p. 495. Philostr. ibid. p. 493. [y] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. c. 32. t. i. p. 310. Val. Max. lib. 8. c. 15. Plin. lib. 33. c. 4. p. 619. Philostr. ibid. Hermip. ap. Athen. lib. 11. c. 15. p. 505. [z] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 70. Philostr. Epist. ad. Jul. p. 919.

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Gorgias acquired a fortune equal to his reputation :[a] but the revolution he effected in the minds of men was only a transient intoxication. In reality he is a frigid writer, labouring to attain to the sublime by efforts which only remove him farther from his object, while the magnificence of his expressions frequently only serves to manifest the sterility of his ideas.[b] He nevertheless extended the limits of his art, and his very faults may be useful as lessons.

Euclid, while he showed me several harangues of Gorgias, and different works composed by his disciples, Polus, Lycimnius, Alcidamas, &c., added, I value less the pompous ornament which these display in their writings than the noble and simple eloquence which characterizes those of Prodicus of Ceos.[c] This author possesses what accurate minds must esteem a principal beauty; he almost always chooses the proper term, and discovers very acute distinctions between words that appear synonimous.[d]

That, said I, is true; but he never suffers one to pass without examining it with a scrupulous and fatiguing exactness. You recollect what he one day said to Socrates and Protagoras, when he wished to reconcile their opinions? "It appertains to you *to discuss*, and not *to dispute*; for we *discuss* with our friends, but we *dispute* with our enemies. By that

[a] Plat. Hipp. Maj. t. iii. p. 282. [b] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xix. p. 210. [c] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxi. p. 168. [d] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 75. Id. in Lach. t. ii. p. 197.

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you obtain our *esteem*, and not our *praise*; for *esteem* is in the heart, and *praise* often only on the lips. On our side we shall receive *satisfaction*, and not *pleasure*; for *satisfaction* is the sentiment of the mind when it is enlightened, and *pleasure* the feeling of the senses in enjoyment." [e]

If Prodicus had expressed himself in this manner, answered Euclid, who would ever have had patience to hear him, or read his works? If you examine the latter,[f] you will be compelled to admire the sense, as well as the elegance, of his style. The language you have just repeated is attributed to him by Plato, who diverted himself in the same manner at the expense of Protagoras, Gorgias, and the most celebrated rhetoricians of his time.[g] He has represented them in his dialogues disputing with his master, and in these pretended conversations has exhibited some very pleasant scenes.

Has not Plato, then, replied I, faithfully related the conversations of Socrates? I doubt he has not, answered Euclid; I even believe that the greater part of these conversations never really passed.[h]—But will not almost every one exclaim against such a supposition?—Phædon, after having read the dialogue which bears his name, declared that he did not recollect any thing of the discourse which Plato has attributed to him.[i] Gorgias said the same of the dialogue which

[e] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 337. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxi. p. 169. [f] Xen. Memor. lib. 2. p. 737. [g] Plat. in Protag. in Gorg. in Hipp. &c. [h] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. c. 32. t. i. p. 310. [i] Athen. lib. 11. c. 15. p. 505.

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is entitled after his name: he only added, that the young author had great talents for satire, and would soon be qualified to succeed the poet Archilochus.[k]—But you will at least agree that his portraits in general have a resemblance.—As we ought not to form our judgment of Pericles and Socrates from the comedies of Aristophanes, so neither ought we to judge of the three sophists of whom I have spoken from the dialogues of Plato.

He had, no doubt, reason to oppose their doctrines, but he ought not to have represented them as men without ideas or knowledge, incapable of following an argument, ever ready to be entangled in the grossest snares, and whose productions merit only contempt. If they had not possessed great abilities, they would not have been so dangerous. I do not say that he was jealous of their reputation, as some may perhaps hereafter suspect;[l] but it appears that, in his youth, he too much addicted himself to a taste for fictions and pleasantry.[m]

However this may be, the abuses introduced, in his time, into eloquence, occasioned between philosophy and rhetoric, which till then had been occupied on the same objects, and borne the same name, a kind of divorce which still subsists,[n] and which has often deprived them of the succours they might mutually afford to each other.[o] The former reproaches the

[k] Hermip. ap. Athen. lib. 11. c. 15. p. 505. [l] Dionys. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 756. [m] Tim. ap. Athen. lib. 11. c. 15. p. 505. [n] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. c. 16 et 19. t. i. p. 294 et 296. [o] Id. Orat. c. 3. p. 422.

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latter, sometimes in the style of contempt, with usurping her rights, and daring to treat circumstantially on religion, politics, and morals, without being acquainted with their principles.[p] But it may be replied to philosophy, that, as she is unable herself to terminate our differences by the sublimity of her dogmas, and the precision of her language, she ought to permit her rival to become her interpreter, to adorn her with her charms, and render her more familiar; and this in fact is what has been done, in our time, by the orators, who, profiting by their acquaintance both with philosophy and rhetoric, have dedicated their talents to public utility.

At the head of these I, without hesitation, place Pericles. He was indebted to the lessons of the rhetoricians and philosophers for that propriety of arrangement and extensive knowledge which, in concert with his genius, carried the art of oratory almost to its perfection.[q] Alcibiades, Critias, and Theramenes,[r] followed in his footsteps. Those who succeeded have equalled, and even sometimes surpassed, while they laboured to imitate them; and it may be asserted that the taste of true eloquence is now fixed in all its different kinds.

You are acquainted with the authors who have distinguished themselves in our time, and are able to appreciate their merit. As I have only judged,

[p] Cicer. de. Orat. lib. 1. c. 13. p. 143. [q] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 269. Cicer. de Clar. Orat. c. 11 et 12. t. i. p. 345.
[r] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. c. 22. p. 214. Id. de Clar. Orat. c. 7. p. 342.

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answered I, from natural sentiment, I could wish to know whether the impressions I have received are justified by the rules of art. Those rules, replied Euclid, the fruits of long experience, were formed from the works and success of great poets and the first orators.[s]

The empire of this art is very extensive: it is exercised in the general assemblies, in which the interests of a nation are discussed; before tribunals, by which the disputes of individuals are determined; in discourses which represent vice and virtue in their true colours; and on all occasions, in fine, when the object is the instruction of mankind.[t] Hence originate three species of eloquence, the deliberative, the judiciary, and the demonstrative.[u] Thus to hasten or prevent the decision of the people, to defend the innocent or convict the guilty, to praise virtue and censure vice, are the noble functions of the orator. And how is he to acquit himself of these? By persuasion. And by what means may persuasion be effected? By profound study, say the philosophers; by the assistance of rules, say the rhetoricians.[x]

The merit of rhetoric, according to the former, consists not in a happy connection of the exordium, the narration, and the other parts of a discourse;[y] nor in the artifices of style, voice, and gesture, which

[s] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 1. c. 31. p. 161. [t] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 261. [u] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 3. t. ii. p. 519. Id. Rhetor. ad Alexand. c. 2. p. 610. [x] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 267. [y] Plat. ibid. p. 266. Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 512.

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are employed to seduce a corrupted people.[z] These are only accessories, sometimes useful, but almost always dangerous. What then shall we require from the orator? That to natural genius he joins science and study.

Let the man whom nature has destined to the exercise of eloquence wait till philosophy has conducted him to it by slow steps;[a] till she shall have proved to him that the art of speaking, which should convince before it persuades, must derive its principal strength from the art of reasoning;[b] till she shall have taught him to conceive accurate ideas, to express them with perspicuity, to distinguish and observe all the relations and contrasts of their objects, and to know and make known to others what each thing essentially is.[c] He shall thus become largely endowed with the knowledge proper for a statesman, an upright judge, and a virtuous citizen;[d] and shall be well acquainted with the different forms of government, the laws and interests of nations,[e] the nature of man, and the inconstant play of human passions.[f]

But this knowledge, purchased by long and laborious researches, must easily be contaminated by the contagious breath of opinion, unless it be supported, not only by acknowledged probity and consummate prudence,[g] but also by an ardent zeal for justice, and

[z] Aristot. ibid. lib. 3. c. 1. t. ii. p. 583. [a] Cicer. Orat. c. 4. p. 423. [b] Aristot. ibid. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 513. [c] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 277. [d] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 4, 9, et 10. [e] Id. ibid. c. 9. t. ii. p. 521. [f] Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 481. [g] Aristot. ibid. lib. 2. c. 1. p. 547.

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a profound veneration for the gods, the witnesses of his actions and his words.[h]

Then shall his language, become the organ of truth, possess the simplicity, energy, ardour, and persuasive dignity by which truth is characterized; it shall be less embellished by the splendor of his eloquence than by that of his virtues,[i] and all his shafts shall reach their destined aim, because every hearer shall be persuaded that they proceed from a hand which has never wilfully erred.

Such an orator only shall assume the right to explain to us in the popular assembly what is truly useful, at the bar what is truly just, and in discourses dedicated to the memory of great men, or the panegyric of noble actions, what is truly praise-worthy.[k]

We have seen what is the opinion of philosophers with regard to rhetoric; let us now proceed to examine the end which rhetoricians propose to themselves, and the rules which they have laid down. But Aristotle has undertaken to collect them in a work[l] in which he will doubtless treat his subject with that superiority which is so conspicuous in his former writings.[m]

Those who have preceded him have confined themselves, sometimes properly to arrange the parts of a discourse without paying attention to strengthen

[h] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 273. [i] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 515. [k] Plat. in Phædr. p. 274. Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 3. t. ii. p. 519. Id. Rhetor. ad Alexand. c. 2. p. 610. [l] Aristot. Rhetor. t. ii. p. 512. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. c. 35. t. i. p. 313. [m] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. c. 38. t. i. p. 229.

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it with convincing proofs,[n] sometimes to collect a number of general maxims or common-places,[o] and sometimes to give us precepts in style,[p] and the means of moving the passions.[q] At other times they teach a variety of artifices which may give to probability superiority over truth, and make the worse appear the better cause.[r] But all have neglected the most essential parts, as the regulation of the action and voice of the speaker;[s] and all have laboured to form the pleader, without saying a word of the public orator. That, said I, excites my surprise; for the functions of the latter are much more useful, noble, and difficult, than those of the former.[t] They no doubt thought, replied Euclid, that in an assembly where all the citizens have the same interest, eloquence ought only to relate plain facts, and give salutary counsel; but that every artifice of rhetoric is required to induce judges to favour a cause to which they are naturally indifferent and strangers.[u]

In the work of Aristotle the opinions of these authors will be given and examined, often attacked, and almost always accompanied with acute observations and important additions. As you will one day read it, it is unnecessary for me to say any more of it at present.

[n] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 1. t. ii. p. 513. [o] Id. ibid. c. 2. p. 518. [p] Id ibid. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 584. [q] Id. ibid. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 515. [r] Id. ibid. lib. 2. c. 23. p. 577; c. 24. p. 581. [s] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 584. [t] Id. ibid. lib. 3. c. 17. t. ii. p. 605. [u] Id. ibid. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 513.

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I put a great number of questions to Euclid, but to very little purpose, as he would scarcely return me answers. Have the rhetoricians adopted the principles of the philosophers? They frequently depart from them, and especially when they prefer probability to truth.[x] What is the first quality of an able orator? To be an excellent logician.[y]—What is his first duty? To show that a thing is, or is not.[z]—What ought to be his principal attention? To discover in each subject the means proper to persuade.[a]—Into how many parts is a discourse divided? The rhetoricians admit a great number,[b] which are reducible to four; the exordium, the proposition or fact, the proof, and the peroration: the first and last may even be omitted.[c]—I was proceeding in my inquiries, but Euclid requested me to desist, and I could only obtain from him a few remarks on style.

Notwithstanding the Greek language is so rich and copious, said I, you cannot but have perceived that the expression does not always correspond to the idea. No doubt, replied he, but we possess the same right as the first institutors of language;[d] we are permitted to hazard a new word, either by creating it ourselves, or deriving it from a word already known.[e] At other times we add a figurative to the literal sense of an expression consecrated by custom; or we inti-

[x] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 267. [y] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 1. t. ii. p. 513. [z] Id. ibid. p. 512. [a] Id. ibid. c. 1 et 2. [b] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 267. [c] Aristot. ibid. lib. 3. c. 13. [d] Quinctil. lib. 8. c. 3. p. 486. [e] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. c. 95, 96, &c.

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mately unite two words to form a third; but this latter licence is commonly reserved to the poets,[f] and especially to the writers of dithyrambics.[g] As to their innovations, they ought to be used with discretion, and they are never adopted by the public except when they are conformable to the analogy of the language.

The beauty of an expression consists in the sound with which it delights the ear, and the sense that it contains; but let none be admitted into a work which may offend modesty or disgust good taste. One of your authors, answered I, will not admit any difference between the signs of our thoughts, and affirms that, in whatever manner an idea be expressed, it always produces the same effect. He is mistaken, replied Euclid; of two words which are at our choice, one is more modest and decent than the other, because it only indicates the image which the other places immediately before our eyes.[h]

We have proper and figurative, simple and compound, foreign and native words;[i] some are more noble or more ornamental than others, because they awaken in us more exalted or more agreeable ideas;[k] others are so mean, or so dissonant, that they ought not to be admitted either into prose or verse.[l]

From the different combinations of words are formed periods, some of which consist only of a

[f] Id. ibid. cap. 93. Aristot. Rhetor. lib 3. c. 2. p. 586. [g] Id. ibid. c. 3. t. ii. p. 587. [h] Id. ibid. c. 2. p. 586. [i] Id. Poet. c. 21 et 22. t. ii. p. 668 et 669. [k] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. c. 175, 176, &c. [l] Theophr. ap. Dionys. Halic. de Compos. Verb. c. 16. t. v. p. 105. Demetr. Phaler. ibid. c. 179.

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single member,[m] while others are composed of two, three, or four members; but none ought to contain more than four.[n]

A discourse ought not to present an unvaried succession of complete and symmetrical periods, like the orations of Gorgias[o] and Isocrates, nor a series of short and detached sentences,[p] like those of the ancients. The former fatigue the mind, the latter wound the ear.[q] The measures of the period should be incessantly diversified, by which the style will at once display the beauties of art and of simplicity;[r] it will even acquire majesty if the last member of the period be the most extended,[s] and if it concludes with one of those long syllables on which the voice reposes in a harmonious close.[t]

The two most essential requisites to good language are propriety and perspicuity.[u]

1st. *Propriety.*—It was early perceived that to express great ideas in abject terms, and mean thoughts in pompous expressions, was to clothe the chief magistrates in rags, and array in purple the dregs of the people: it was also perceived that the soul speaks a different language according as it is in motion or at rest; that an old man does not express himself like a youth, nor the inhabitants of the country like those of the city. Hence it follows, that the diction should

[m] Arist. Rhet. lib. 3. c. 9. t. ii. p. 592. [n] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. c. 16. [o] Id. ibid. c. 15. [p] Id. ibid. c. 4. [q] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. c. 49. t. i. p. 326. [r] Demetr. Phaler. ibid. c. 15. [s] Id. ibid. c. 18. [t] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. c. 8. t. ii. p. 591. [u] Id. ibid. c. 2. p. 584.

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vary according to the character of him who speaks, and that of those whom he addresses; according to the nature of the subject he treats, and the circumstances in which he may chance to be placed.[x] It also follows, that the style of poetry, and that of oratory, history and dialogue, must essentially differ from each other;[y] and even that in each of these kinds of style the manners and talents of an author must produce a sensible difference in his language.[z]

2d. *Perspicuity.*—An orator or a writer ought accurately to have studied the language in which he speaks or writes. If the rules of grammar are violated, it will be frequently difficult to understand his meaning. If he make use of ambiguous words, or useless circumlocutions, place improperly the conjunctions which connect the members of a sentence, confound the plural with the singular, disregard the distinction which has been established in these modern times between masculine and feminine nouns, employ the same expression to signify the impressions received by two different senses,* distribute at random, after the manner of Heraclitus, the words of a sentence so that the reader cannot guess at the punctuation intended by the author; all these defects will equally contribute to the obscurity of his style;[a] which will

[x] Aristot. Rhet. lib. 3. c. 7. t. ii. p. 591. [y] Id. ibid. c. 1. t. ii. p. 594. Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. c. 19. Cicer. Orat. c. 20. t. i. p. 436. [z] Id. ibid. c. 11. p. 428. * This has been done by Æschylus (in Prometh. v. 21.) Vulcan says that Prometheus shall no more *see* the *voice* or figure of a man. [a] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. c. 5. t. ii. p. 588. Id. Rhetor. ad Alex. c. 26. p. 632.

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be still more increased if the profusion of ornaments and the length of the periods bewilder the attention of the reader, and do not suffer him to take breath,[b] or if, by a too great rapidity of expression, the thought escapes him, like those racers who disappear in an instant from the eyes of the spectator.[c]

Nothing contributes more to perspicuity than words in common use;[d] but if their ordinary acceptation is never varied, the style will become familiar and creeping; it should be elevated by new turns and figurative expressions.[e]

The movement of prose ought to be regulated by an easy rhythmus, and should avoid the too artificial cadence of poetry.[f] The greater part of critics exclude from it verse; and this interdiction is founded on a principle that ought never to be lost sight of, which is, that art should conceal itself;[g] and an author who would move or persuade, ought not too openly to discover his intent. But prose which changes into verse betrays constraint and artifice. What! said I, if a verse should escape a writer in the warmth of composition, must it be rejected at the hazard of enfeebling the thought? If it has only the appearance of verse, replied Euclid, it should be retained, and it will be an embellishment;[h] if it is

[b] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 208. [c] Id. ibid. c. 202. [d] Aristot. Rhet. lib. 3. c. 2. t. ii. p. 585. [e] Id. ibid. [f] Id. ibid. c. 8. p. 591. Cicer. de Clar. Orat. c. 8. t. i. p. 343. Id. Orat. c. 20. p. 436; c. 51. p. 463. [g] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. c. 2. t. ii. p. 585. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. c. 37. p. 228. [h] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. c. 184. Hermog. de Form. Orat. lib. 2. t. i. p. 122.

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regular, it should be broken, and its fragments will render the period more sonorous.[i] Several writers, and Isocrates himself, have exposed their works to censure from having neglected this precaution.[k]

Glycera, when forming a garland, is not more attentive to the arrangement of colours than an author whose ear is delicate is to the harmony of sounds. On this subject numerous precepts have been given that I omit; but one question has arisen on which I have frequently heard disputes. May two words immediately follow each other, one of which ends and the other begins with the same vowel? Isocrates and his disciples carefully avoids this concurrence, as does Demosthenes frequently; but Thucydides and Plato rarely pay attention to it.[l] Some critics rigorously forbid it;[m] others accompany the law with restrictions, and maintain that an absolute prohibition would sometimes be detrimental to the gravity of the language.[n]

I have heard speak, subjoined I, of different kinds of style; such as the noble, the grave, the simple, the agreeable,[o] &c. Let us leave to rhetoricians, answered Euclid, the care of assigning to these their respective characters. I have indicated them all in two words. If the language be clear and proper, if an exact pro-

[i] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. c. 183. [k] Id. ibid. c. 118. Hieronym. ap. Cicer. Orat. c. 56. t. i. p. 468. [l] Cicer. Orat. cap. 44. t. i. p. 457. [m] Aristot. Rhetor. ad Alex. cap. 36. t. ii. p. 632. [n] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. c. 322 et 323. [o] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 598. Demetr. Phaler. ibid. c. 36.

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portion be maintained between the words, the thoughts, and the subject,[p] nothing more ought to be required.

If we reflect attentively on this principle we shall not be surprised at the following assertions. The eloquence of the bar differs essentially from that of the rostrum. An orator will be pardoned negligences and repetitions which would not be allowed in a writer.[q] A discourse applauded in the general assembly shall not be endured in the closet, because the action and manner constituted its principal merit; while another, written with the greatest care, shall not succeed in public, for want of the action suitable to a popular harangue. The language which seeks to dazzle us by its magnificence becomes excessively frigid when it is inharmonious, when the labour of the author is too apparent, and when, to use an expression of Sophocles, he violently inflates his cheeks to blow into a little flute.[s] The style of some orators is insupportable from the multiplicity of verses and compound words which they borrow from poetry.[t] On the other hand, Alcidamus disgusts us by a profusion of redundant epithets, and Gorgias by the obscurity of his far-fetched metaphors.[u] The greater part of hyperboles infuse a mortal frigidity. Those authors are only to be ridiculed who confound a nervous with a forced style, and labour with contortions to bring forth expressions of genius. One of these, speaking

[p] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. c. 7. t. ii. p. 590. [q] Id. ibid. c. 12. p. 597. [r] Id. ibid. [s] Longin. de Sublim. § 3. [t] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. c. 117. [u] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. c. 3. t. ii. p. 587.

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of the rock which Polyphemus threw at the ship of Ulysses, says, "The goats were seen to feed undisturbed on the rock as it cleaved the air."[x]

I have often observed, replied I, the abuse of figures; and perhaps they ought to be entirely banished from prose, as has been done by some modern authors.[y] Proper words, replied he, constitute the language of reason, and figurative expressions that of passion. Reason may design a picture, and wit scatter over it some slight ornaments, but it appertains to passion alone to give it motion and life. A soul which wishes us to share its emotions, calls all nature to its aid, and creates to itself a new language. By discovering among the objects that surround us features of resemblance or opposition, it rapidly accumulates figures, which may be reduced to a single one, which I call similitude. If I say, *Achilles rushes on his adversary like a lion*, I make a comparison; if I say, simply, *that lion rushes*, it is a metaphor.[z] *Achilles swifter than the wind*, is an hyperbole. If his courage be contrasted with the cowardice of Thersites, an antithesis will be produced. Thus, the comparison places two objects near to each other, the metaphor confounds them, and the hyperbole and antithesis separate after having brought them together.

Comparisons are more suitable to poetry than prose;[a] the hyperbole and antithesis more proper for

[x] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 115.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 67.
[z] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. c. 4. t. ii. p. 588.
[a] Id. ibid. Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. c. 90.

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funeral orations and panegyrics than popular harangues and pleadings; but metaphors are essential to every kind and style of language. They give an air of novelty to the most common idea.[b] The reader remains for a moment in suspense, but soon discovers through the thin veil the relations, which were only concealed from him that he might enjoy the satisfaction of the discovery. Some time since surprise was excited when an author compared old age to straw;[c] that straw which, once filled with grain, is become empty, and ready to be reduced to dust. But the emblem was adopted because it paints, at a single stroke, the transition from flourishing youth to barren and feeble decrepitude.

As the pleasures of the mind are only pleasures of surprise, and endure but for an instant, the same figure cannot be repeatedly employed with the same success, but will soon be confounded with common and appropriate terms, as has happened to many metaphors, which have been multiplied in all languages, and especially in ours. These expressions, *a clear voice*, *rugged manners*, and others similar, have lost their metaphorical value by becoming familiar.[d]

A metaphor should, as much as possible, represent the object in action. Observe how all things are animated beneath the pencil of Homer; the spear *thirsts* for the blood of the enemy, and the dart is *impatient* to strike.[e]

[b] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. c. 2. t. ii. p. 585. [c] Id. ibid. c. 10. tom. ii. p. 595. [d] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 87. et 88. [e] Aristot. Rhet. lib. 3. c. 11. t. ii. p. 595.

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In certain cases, metaphors which awaken agreeable ideas are to be preferred. Homer has said, *rosy-fingered Aurora*, because he had perhaps remarked that nature sometimes diffuses over a beautiful hand tints of a rose-colour, which contribute to heighten its beauty. What would have become of his image, if he had said *purple-fingered Aurora?*[f]

Each figure should preserve an accurate and manifest similitude. You no doubt recollect the consternation of the Athenians when Pericles said to them, "Our youth have fallen in battle. It is as if the year were deprived of the spring."[g] Here the analogy is perfect, for youth is to the different periods of life what the spring is to the other seasons of the year.

This expression of Euripedes, *The oar, sovereign of the seas*, has been with reason condemned, because so lofty a title is unsuitable to such an instrument.[h] The expression of Gorgias, *You reap in grief what you have sowed in shame,*[i] has likewise been condemned, no doubt, because the words to sow and reap have not hitherto been used in a figurative sense except by the poets. Lastly, Plato has been censured when, to express that a well constituted city ought not to have walls, he has said, that the walls should be left to *sleep lying on the ground.*[k]

Euclid proceeded to enlarge on the different ornaments of discourse. He cited several happy transi-

[f] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. c. 2. t. ii. 4. 586. [g] Id. ibid. c. 10. p. 594. [h] Id. ibid. c. 2. p. 586. [i] Id. ibid. c. 3. p. 587. [k] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 778. Longin. de Sublim. § 3.

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tions, fine allusions, ingenious thoughts, and repartees abounding in wit.[l] He confessed that the greater part of these add nothing to our knowledge, and only show with what rapidity the mind can proceed to a conclusion without stopping at the intermediate ideas. He allowed likewise that certain modes of expression have been by turns approved and rejected by critics of equal abilities.

After having made a few remarks on the manner of regulating the voice and gesture, and reminding me that Demosthenes considered action as the first, second, and third quality of an orator,[m] he added, Eloquence has every where assimilated itself to the character of the nation. The Greeks of Caria, Mysia, and Phrygia, are still rude and unrefined, and seem to admire only what resembles the luxury of the satraps, of whom they are the slaves. Their orators declaim with forced intonations, harangues, overloaded with fastidious redundance;[n] while the Spartans, with severe manners and a sound judgment, hold in profound contempt every species of ostentation; they say but a word, but sometimes that word contains a treatise on morals or politics.

Let a stranger listen to our ablest orators, or read our best writers, and he will soon be convinced that he is in the midst of a sensible, learned, and polished nation, abounding in wit and taste. He will every where find the same facility to discover the beauties

[l] Aristot. ibid. c. 11. t. ii. p. 596. Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. c. 271. [m] Cic. de Clar. Orat. c. 38. t. i. p. 368. [n] Cicer. Orat. c. 8. t. i. p. 425; c. 18. p. 433.

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most suitable to each subject, and the same discretion in their distribution; and he will constantly perceive that these are heightened by touches which awaken the attention, and graces which embellish reason.[o]

Even in the works in which the greatest simplicity reigns, how much will he be surprised to find a language that might be easily mistaken for the most common and usual, though it is separated from it by a very wide interval! And how great must be his astonishment to discover in it transcendant beauties, which he would never have perceived had he not vainly endeavoured to transfer them to his own writings![p]

I now asked Euclid what author he would propose as a model of style. None in particular, replied he; but all in general.[q] I shall name no one expressly, because those two of our writers who approach nearest to perfection, Plato and Demosthenes, sometimes err, the one by excess of ornament,[r] and the other by defect of elevation.[s] I say all in general, because by studying them, and comparing one with another, we may learn not only to give a colouring to our language,[t] but may also acquire that pure and exquisite taste which directs and judges the productions of genius, a rapid sentiment which is become so widely diffused

[o] Cicer. Orat. c. 9. t. i. p. 426. Id. de Opt. Gen. Orat. t. i. p. 451. Quinctil. lib. 6. c. 3. p. 373 et 395. [p] Cicer. Orat. c. 23. t. i. p. 438. [q] Id. ibid. c. 9. t. i. p. 426. [r] Dionys. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 758. [s] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 412. Cicer. Orat. c. 8. p. 426. [t] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. c. 14. t. i. p. 205.

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among us that it may be considered as the instinct of the nation.

You are well acquainted, indeed, with what contempt the Athenians reject whatever is incorrect or inelegant in a discourse, and how hastily they exclaim in their assemblies against an improper expression, or a false intonation, and what labour it costs our orators to satisfy ears so scrupulously delicate.[u] They are offended, replied I, when the harmony is deficient, but not when decency is violated. Do they not continually revile each other with the most gross and filthy abuse? What are the means which some among them have employed to arrive at admiration and applause? The frequent use of the hyperbole,[x] the glare of the antithesis, and all the gaudy ornaments of rhetoric,[y] violent gestures, and frantic exclamations.[z]

Euclid answered, that these extravagances were condemned by persons of sound judgment. But, replied I, are they by the Athenians in general? Every year, are not detestable dramatic pieces preferred, at the theatre, to those that possess the greatest excellence?[a] Some transient success, said he, obtained by surprise or intrigue, cannot establish the reputation of an author. One proof, answered I, that good taste is not general among you is, that you still have bad writers. One, after the example of Gorgias,

[u] Cicer. Orat. c. 8. t. i. p. 425. [x] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. c. 11. t. ii. p. 597. [y] Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 181. [z] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 264. Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 528. [a] Aul. Gell. lib. 17. c. 4.

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scatters with profusion through his prose all the embellishments of poetry;[b] another turns, smooths, rounds, and lengthens his periods, till we forget their beginning before we hear their conclusion.[c] Others carry their affectation to the most ridiculous absurdity; as, for instance, he who speaking of a centaur called him *a man on horseback on himself*.[d]

These authors, said Euclid, are like abuses which insinuate themselves into every thing, and their triumphs like those dreams which leave behind them only regret. I exclude them, and their admirers likewise, from that nation of which I boast the taste, and which is only composed of enlightened citizens. These, sooner or later, must fix the decisions of the multitude,[e] and you will not deny that they are more numerous among us than among any other people.

It appears to me, that eloquence has now arrived at its highest degree of improvement.[f] Who can say, what will be its fate hereafter? It is easy to foresee it, answered I. It will be enervated if you are subjected by any foreign power,[g] and annihilated if philosophy should establish her dominion over you; but happily you are secure from the latter danger. Euclid perceived my idea, and requested me to explain it more at length. I will, replied I, on condition that you pardon me my eccentricities and paradoxes.

[b] Aristot. Rhet. lib. 3. c. 1. t. ii. p. 584. [c] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. c. 4. [d] Id. ibid. c. 191. [e] Lucian. in Hermot. tom. i. c. 2. p. 853. [f] Theophr. ap. Phot. Biblioth. p. 394. [g] Cicer. de Clar. Orat. c. 9. t. i. p. 344. Id. de Orat. lib. 2. c. 23. p. 214.

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I understand by philosophy a reason transcendently enlightened; and I would ask you, whether those illusions which have entered into language, as well as into our passions, would not vanish at its appearance, like phantoms and shadows at the dawning of the day?

Let us take for our judge one of those genii which inhabit the celestial spheres, and whose sole nourishment is pure truth. Let us imagine him descended to earth, and that I place before him a discourse on morals. He will applaud the solidity of the principles, the clearness of the ideas, the strength of the proofs, and the propriety of the terms. Yet, nevertheless, say I, this discourse cannot succeed unless it be translated into the language of the orators. The members of this period must be rendered more symmetrical, and the words in this other differently arranged, to produce more agreeable sounds.[h] I have not always expressed myself with sufficient precision. My hearers would never pardon me for having distrusted their understanding. My style is too simple; I ought to have embellished it with luminous points.[i] What are those luminous points? asks the genius.—Hyperboles, comparisons, metaphors, and other figures, to exalt things above, or debase them below, their value.[k]

This language, no doubt, astonishes you; but we mortals are so constituted, that, to defend even the

[h] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 139. [i] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap, 25. t. i. p. 303. Id. Orat. c. 25. p. 440. Id. de Clar. Orat. c. 79. p. 402. [k] Quinctil. lib. 9. c. 2. p. 547.

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truth, it is necessary to employ fiction. I shall cite to you some of these figures, borrowed for the most part from the writings of the poets, who have given them in strong colours, and from whose works some orators transplant them into their prose. They are the ornament of an eulogium, of which the beginning is as follows:

- *I am about to render the name of my hero for ever celebrated among men.*[l] Stop, says the genius, Can you be certain that your work will be known and applauded in every age and country? No, answered I, but it is a figure. *His ancestors, who were the eye of Sicily,*[m] *fixed their abode near Mount Ætna, the column of heaven.*[n] I hear the genius say, in a low voice, Heaven supported by a small rock in this insignificant globe called earth! What extravagance! *Words sweeter than honey flow from his lips,*[o] *they fall without interruption as the fleeces of snow descend on the plain.*[p] What have words in common with honey and snow? says the genius. *He has gathered the flower of music,*[q] *and his lyre extinguishes the flaming thunderbolt.*[r] The genius surveys me with astonishment, and I continue: *He has the mien and the prudence of Jupiter, the terrible aspect of Mars, and the strength of Neptune.*[s] *The number of beauties of which he has made the conquest equals the number of the leaves of the trees, and that of the*

[l] Isocr. in Evag. tom. ii. p. 71. [m] Pind. Olymp. 2. v. 17. [n] Id. Pyth. 1. v. 36. [o] Homer. Iliad. lib. 1. v. 249. [p] Id. ibid. lib. 3. v. 222. [q] Pind. Olymp. 1. v. 22. [r] Id. Pyth. 1. v. 8. [s] Homer. Iliad. 2. v. 169 et 478. Eustath. t. i.

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waves which roll in succession to expire on the shore of the ocean.[t] At these words the genius disappears, and wings his way toward the abodes of light.

Though it may be objected to you, said Euclid, that you have heaped together too many figures in this eulogium, I can admit that our exaggerations falsify our ideas as well as our sentiments, and that they give offence to a mind unaccustomed to them. But it is to be hoped that our reason will not remain in an eternal infancy. Do not flatter yourself, replied I; man would no longer bear a just proportion to the rest of nature, could he attain to the perfection of which he imagines himself capable.

Were our senses to become exquisitely acute, the palate would be unable to bear the impression of honey and milk, or the hand to rest on any body without feeling great pain; the scent of a rose would throw us into convulsions, the least noise rend the membrane of our ears, and our eyes would discover frightful wrinkles in the texture of the most beautiful skin. It is the same with the qualities of the mind; if that should acquire a more piercing discernment and more rigorous accuracy, how much must it be disgusted at the feebleness and impropriety of the signs which represent our ideas! It would no doubt create to itself another language; but what would become of that of the passions? What would become of the passions themselves under the absolute government of a reason so rigid and so pure? They

[t] Anacr. Od. 32.

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and the imagination likewise would become extinct, and man would no longer be the same creature.

In the state in which he at present is, every production of his mind, his heart, and his hands, only announces his insufficiency and his wants. He is inclosed within narrow limits, and nature severely punishes him if he attempts to pass them. Do you imagine that by becoming civilised he has made any great advances toward perfection? What then has he gained? In the general order of society he has substituted laws made by men for those natural laws of which the gods are the authors; in manners, hypocrisy for virtue; in his pleasures, illusion for reality; and in politeness, ceremony for sentiment. His taste has been so corrupted by refinement, that he has found himself constrained to prefer, in the arts, those that are agreeable to those that are useful; in eloquence, the merit of style to that of the thought;[u] and in every thing, artifice to truth. I will venture to affirm it, the only superiority which enlightened nations have over us is, that they have brought to perfection the art of feigning, and found the secret to affix a mask on every countenance.

That this is the great aim of rhetoric I perceive by all that you have said, and to attain to it words are arrayed in pleasing colours. Far, therefore, from studying the precepts of such an art, I shall only regard the observation of Aristotle, who, when I once asked him by what marks a good work might be

[u] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. c. 1. t. ii. p. 584.

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known, answered me, "If it is impossible to add any thing to it, or to take the least thing from it."[x]

After this conversation, Euclid and I left the library, and took a walk toward the Lycæum. As we went he showed me a letter which he had just received from the wife of one of his friends, the orthography of which appeared to me faulty. Sometimes an *i* was written for an *e*, or a *z* for a *d*. I have always been surprised, said I, at this negligence of the Athenian ladies. They write, answered he, as they speak, and as words were formerly pronounced.[y] Changes then, replied I, have taken place in your pronunciation? Very many, answered Euclid: formerly, for example, we said *himera* (day); afterward we said *hêmera*, the first *e* close; and afterward *hèmera*, the first *e* open.

Custom, to render certain words more sonorous, or more majestic, drops some letters and adds others; and these continued alterations deprive those who wish to make researches into the origin of the language of all hope of success.[z] Custom likewise condemns to oblivion many words which were formerly in common use, and which, perhaps, it would not be amiss to revive.

As we entered the first court of the Lycæum, our attention was excited by loud exclamations that proceeded from one of the halls of the gymnasium. The rhetorician Leon and the sophist Pythodorus

[x] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 2. c. 5. t. ii. p. 22. [y] Plat. in Cratyl. t. i. p. 418. [z] Lys. in Theomn. p. 18. Plat. in Cratyl. t. i. p. 414. Sext. Empir. adv. Gramm. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 234.

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were engaged in a violent dispute. We had great difficulty to make our way through the crowd. Come near, said the former to us: here is Pythodorus, who maintains that his art does not differ from mine, and that the object which we both have in view is to deceive those who listen to us. What effrontery from a man who ought to blush at the name of sophist!

That name, replied Pythodorus, was formerly honourable; it is that which those assumed who from the time of Solon to Pericles dedicated themselves to the study of wisdom, for that is its real import. Plato, wishing to ridicule some by whom it had been abused,[a] rendered it contemptible among his disciples. Yet do I see it every day applied to Socrates,[b] whom you no doubt respect, and to the orator Antiphon, whom you profess to esteem.[c] But the present question is not merely concerning a name; I here lay it down in your presence, and am prepared, without other interest than that of truth, or other aid than that of reason, to prove to you that the rhetorician and the sophist employ the same means to arrive at the same end.

I can scarcely retain my indignation, exclaimed Leon. What! shall vile mercenaries, shall mere workmen in words,[d] who accustom their disciples to arm themselves with sophisms and quibbles, and to defend indifferently either side of the question, shall

[a] Plat. in Gorg. in Protag. in Hipp. &c. [b] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 287. [c] Xen. Memor. lib. 1. p. 729. [d] Mnesarch. ap. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 1. c. 18. t. i. p. 148.

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these have the effrontery to compare themselves to those respectable men who defend the cause of innocence at the bar, demonstrate the true interests of the state in the popular assembly, and essentially benefit mankind by the discourses they pronounce in honour of virtue? I do not compare men, said Pythodorus; I speak of the art they profess. We shall soon see whether these respectable men be not more to be dreaded than the most dangerous sophists.

Will you not grant me that both your disciples and mine, little solicitous to arrive at truth, commonly stop short at probability? [e]—Yes; but the former found their reasonings on great probabilities, and the latter on frivolous appearances.—And what do you understand by probable?—That which appears such to all, or the greater part of men.[f]—Consider well your answer; for it will follow from it, that those sophists who by their eloquence have obtained the suffrages of a nation have advanced only probable propositions.—They can only dazzle the multitude; the wise will not be misled by the illusion.

Must we then, asked Pythodorus, appeal to the tribunal of the sages, to know whether a thing is probable or not?—No doubt, replied Leon; and I add to my definition, that, in certain cases, that only ought to be considered as probable which is acknowledged to be such by the greater number of

[e] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 2. t. ii. p. 514 et 517; lib. 3. c. 1. p. 584. [f] Id. Topic. lib. 1. c. 1. t. i. p. 180.

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sages, or at least by the best informed and most discerning among them.[g]—It happens then, sometimes, that it is so difficult to know what is probable, that it even escapes the greater part of sages, and can only be perceived by the most discerning?—Well—And when you hesitate concerning the reality of these probabilities, which are imperceptible to almost all the world, do you repair to this small number of men of superior knowledge and discernment to consult them?—No; I rely on my own judgment, and presume what their decision would be. But what conclusion do you draw from these tiresome subtleties?

You see, continued Pythodorus, that you make no scruple to adopt an opinion which you have decided to be probable by your own authority, and that deceitful probabilities suffice to determine the orator as well as the sophist.[h]—But the former is sincere, the other not.—They then only differ by intention; and this in fact has been confessed by philosophical writers.[i] I will endeavour, however, to deprive you of this advantage.

You accuse the sophists of maintaining indifferently either side of a question; but I would ask you whether rhetoric as well as logic does not lay down rules successfully to defend two contrary opinions.[k] -I grant it; but we exhort the young pupil not

[g] Aristot. Topic. lib. 1. c. i. t. i. p. 180. [h] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 2. c. 24. t. ii. p. 581. [i] Id. ibid. lib. 1. c. 1. t. ii. p. 514. [k] Id. ibid. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. c. 7 et 53. t. i. p. 199 et 243.

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to make an improper use of these rules.[l] He ought to know them, that he may be able to avoid the snares that an artful enemy may prepare for him.[m]—That is to say, after you have put into the hands of a youth a poniard and a sword, you say to him: When the enemy shall press you closely, and you find yourself strongly urged by interest, ambition, and the desire of vengeance, strike with one of these weapons, but make no use of the other, even though you were certain it would gain you the victory.[n] I should admire this moderation; but to be certain whether he will really exercise it, let us follow him to the combat, or rather permit me to lead you to it myself.

Let us suppose that you are to conduct the prosecution of a man whose crime is not proved; and suffer me to recal to your memory the precepts which the teachers of your art every day inculcate to their pupils. I shall say to you: Your first object is to persuade;[o] and to effect this persuasion, you must please, and move the passions.[p] You have wit and abilities, and are in possession of the highest reputation. Let us derive profit from these advantages:[q] they have already inspired your hearers with confidence in you,[r] which you will increase by interspersing through the exordium, and the following

[l] Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 457. [m] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 1. t, ii. p. 514. [n] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. c. 14. t. i. p. 293. [o] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 515. [p] Id. ibid. lib. 3. c. 1. t. ii. p. 584. Cicer. de Opt. Gen. Orat. c. 1. t. i. p. 541. Quinctil. lib. 3. c. 5. p. 154. [q] Aristot. ibid. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 515. [r] Id. ibid. lib. 2. c. 1. t. ii. p. 547. Id. Rhetor. ad Alexand. p. 650.

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parts of your discourse, maxims of justice and probity;[s] but especially by flattering your judges, whose knowledge, sense, and equity, you would be careful to extol.[t] Neglect not the suffrages of the assembly; it will be easy for you to obtain them. Nothing so easy, said Socrates, as to praise the Athenians in the midst of Athens; conform to their taste, and represent every thing as praise-worthy which they are inclined to honour.[u]

According to the nature of your cause, give to the defects or good qualities of the two parties the colours of the virtues or vices on which they border. Place in the most advantageous light the real or imaginary merit of him for whom you speak. Excuse his failings, or rather declare they are the excess of virtue. Transform insolence into greatness of mind, temerity into courage, prodigality into liberality, the transports of anger into expressions of frankness, and you will dazzle and mislead your judges.[x]

As the noblest privilege of rhetoric is to embellish and disfigure, to magnify and diminish all objects,[y] fear not to paint your adversary in the blackest colours; dip your pen in gall; be careful to aggravate his smallest failings, to instil your venom into his best action,[z] and to spread a gloomy shade over his cha-

[s] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 9. t. ii. p. 530, &c. [t] Id. ibid. ad Alexand. c. 37. t. ii. p. 643. [u] Id. ibid. lib. 1. c. 9. t. ii. p. 532. [x] Id. ibid. [y] Isocr. Panegyr. t. i. p. 123. Plat. in Phæd. t. iii. p. 267. Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 2. c. 18. p. 568. Sext. Empir. adv. Rhet. lib. 2. p. 298. [z] Aristot. Rhetor. ad Alex. c. 4 et 7. t. ii. p. 617 et 620.

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racter. Is he circumspect and prudent, say that he is suspicious and capable of treachery.[a]

Some orators crown the victim before they give the fatal blow: they begin by bestowing praise on the adverse party, and, after having removed far from them all suspicion of insincerity, they at their leisure plunge the poniard in his heart.[b] If you hesitate to employ this refinement in mischief, I can supply you with another weapon no less formidable. When your adversary shall overwhelm you with the weight of his arguments, instead of answering them, attack him with ridicule, and you will read his defeat in the eyes of your judges.[c]

If he has only advised an act of injustice, affirm that he is more culpable than if he had committed it; if he has merely followed the suggestions of another, maintain that the action is more criminal than the advice. This I have seen done, not long ago, by one of our orators,* in his pleadings on two different causes.[d]

If the written laws are expressly against you, have recourse to the law of nature, and show that it is more equitable than any written laws; but if the latter are favourable to your cause, insist with all

[a] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 9. t. ii. p. 532. [b] Id. ibid. lib. 3. c. 15. t. ii. p. 602. [c] Id. ibid. lib. 3. c. 18. t. ii. p. 606. Cicer. Orat. c. 26. p. 441. Id. de Orat. lib. 2. c. 54. p. 244.

* Leodamas prosecuting the orator Callistratus, and afterwards Chabrias the general.

[d] Aristot. ibid. lib. 1. t. ii. c. 7. p. 527.

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your force that the judges cannot dispense with them under any pretext.[e]

Your adversary, confessing his fault, may perhaps allege that he committed it through ignorance, or by accident; maintain that it was the consequence of a premeditated design.[f] Does he offer an oath as a proof of his innocence, say, without hesitation, that he only means to evade justice by perjury: but if you propose to confirm by an oath what you are about to advance, declare that no act can be more religious or more noble than to commit our cause into the hands of the gods.[g]

If you have no witnesses, endeavour to show that this kind of evidence is uncertain and unimportant; if you have, use every argument to prove its weight and value.[h]

Is it advantageous to you that the slaves of the adverse party should be put to the torture, maintain that this is the strongest of all proofs; but would you wish to prevent yours from being subjected to the same trial, say that it is the most uncertain and most dangerous of all.[i]

These means facilitate the victory, but it is necessary to ensure it. During the whole action rather lose sight of your cause than of your judges; till you

[e] Aristot. Rhetor. c. 15. t. ii. p. 543. Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2. p. 296. [f] Aristot. Rhetor. ad Alexand. c. 5. t. ii. p. 618. [g] Id. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 15. t. ii. p. 546. Quinctil. lib. 5. c. 6. [h] Aristot. ibid. p. 544. Quinctil. ibid. c. 7. [i] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 15. t. i. p. 545. Quinctil. lib. 5. c. 4.

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have subdued them you cannot triumph over your adversary. Inspire them with esteem and compassion for your client; let grief be painted in your countenance, and manifest in the accents of your voice. If they shed a tear, if you see the balance of justice tremble in their hands, fall on them with all the ardour of eloquence, associate their passions with yours, excite against your enemy their contempt, their indignation, their anger;[k] and if he be distinguished by his employments and his riches, awaken also their jealousy, and incline it toward that hatred by which it is ever closely followed.[l]

All these precepts, Leon, are so many heads of accusation against the art which you profess. We may judge of the effects they produce from the alarming answer of a celebrated advocate of Byzantium, whom I asked not long ago, what the laws in this country had ordained in certain cases. What I please, replied he.[m]

Leon endeavoured to throw entirely on the orators the reproaches which Pythodorus had cast on rhetoric. No, replied the latter, with warmth, the question is concerning the inherent mischiefs of this fatal art. I only recal to your memory what is found in every treatise on rhetoric, what is every day practised by our most esteemed orators, and the lessons which our

[k] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. c. 19. t. ii. p. 607. Id. ibid. ad Alexand. c. 37. p. 646. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. c. 44. p. 234. Id. Orat. c. 37 et 38. p. 451. Sext. Empir. adv. Gramm. lib. 2. p. 290. [l] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 2. c. 10. t. ii. p. 562. Id. ibid. ad Alexand. p. 648. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. c. 51. t. i. p. 240.
[m] Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2. p. 297.

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ablest teachers inculcate, and which both you and I have learned in our infancy.

Let us enter the places in which youth are initiated into the art of oratory, in the same manner as stage-players or athletæ are prepared for their exhibitions or their combats. Observe what attention is paid to their looks, their voice, their attitude, their gesture.[n] With what labour are they taught, sometimes to mix the false colours with which they are to embellish their language, and sometimes perfidiously to unite treachery with force? What imposture! what barbarity! Are these the ornaments of eloquence? Is this the retinue of innocence and truth? I believe myself in their asylum, and I find myself in a fearful haunt, in which the most subtle poisons are distilled, and the most murderous weapons forged; and, what is yet more strange, these weapons and these poisons are sold under the protection of government, and those who make the most cruel use of them rewarded with admiration and power.

I have not wished to extract the poison concealed in almost all the lessons of our rhetoricians. But tell me, what is the tendency of that principle of which I have already spoken, and on which the whole edifice of rhetoric is founded—I mean, that we should be able powerfully to move the passions of our judges? Why, just heaven! should we move those whose emotions it would be our duty to calm, and to whom tranquillity of mind can never be more necessary?

[n] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 584. Cicer. Orat. c. 18. t. i. p. 434.

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What! while it is universally acknowledged that the passions pervert the judgment, and change in our sight the very nature of things,[o] it is prescribed to an orator to rouse the passions in his own mind, and excite those of his hearers and his judges![p] yet have my opponents the effrontery to maintain that an equitable decision may be the result of so many impetuous and disorderly emotions.

Let us repair to the places in which are discussed the great interests of the state. What shall we find there? The thunders and lightnings of the rostrum employed to inflame the most violent of the passions, and to produce the most destructive ravages; a simple people, who come thither to seek the praises which inspire them with insolence, and emotions which render them unjust; and orators who incessantly warn us to be on our guard against the eloquence of their adversaries. Eloquence therefore is highly dangerous? Yet it is that alone by which we are governed, and ruin awaits the state.[q]

There is another kind of rhetoric which those orators cultivate whose whole merit is to employ the most evident falsehoods and the most extravagant hyperboles to celebrate ordinary and frequently despicable men. When this species of adulation was introduced, virtue should have renounced panegyric.

[o] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 515; lib. 2. c. 1. p. 547. [p] Id. ibid. lib. 3. c. 7. p. 590. Cicer. Orat. c. 38. t. i. p. 451. [q] Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 466. Cicer. pro Flacc. c. 7. t. v. p. 244.

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But I shall not speak of these vile productions; let those who can endure to read them deal out their praise or their censure.

It hence follows that justice is incessantly insulted in her sanctuary, the state in our general assemblies, and truth in panegyrics and funeral orations. Certainly it may with great reason be said that rhetoric has been brought to perfection in our time, for I defy all succeeding ages to add a single degree of atrocity to its mischiefs.

At these words an Athenian, who had long prepared himself one day to harangue the people, said, with a disdainful smile, Pythodorus then condemns eloquence? No, replied he, but I condemn that rhetoric which necessarily occasions its abuse. You have no doubt your reasons, replied the former, to prescribe the graces of language; yet it has always been and always will be said, that an orator ought to insinuate himself into the favour of those whom he addresses by delighting their ears.[r] And I shall always say, replied Pythodorus, or rather reason and probity will always reply, that the noblest function, and the only duty of an orator, is to enlighten and inform his judges.

And how would you have them enlightened and informed? impatiently replied another Athenian, who was indebted to the address of his advocates for the gaining of several law-suits. As they are in the

[r] Cicer. de Opt. Gen. Orat. cap. 1. t. i. p. 541. Id. de Clar. Orat. c. 21. p. 354. Id. Orat. c. 44. p. 456, &c.

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Areopagus, replied Pythodorus, where the orator, without emotion and without passions, contents himself with a statement of facts the most simple and unadorned possible;[s] as they are in Crete, at Lacedæmon, and in other republics, where the orator is forbidden to address the passions of his hearers;[t] and as they were formerly among us, when the parties, obliged to defend each his own cause, were unable to avail themselves of discourses composed by eloquent pens.[u]

I return to my first proposition: I have affirmed that the art of the rhetoricians is not essentially distinct from that of the sophists;[x] I have proved my assertion by showing that both, not only in their effects, but also in their principles, tend to the same end by means equally insidious. If there is any difference between them, it is that the orator applies himself more to inflame, and the sophist to calm, our passions.[y]

I perceive that Leon is ready to thunder upon me with all the pompous and menacing apparatus of rhetoric; but I must request him to confine himself to the question, and to consider that the strokes which he shall aim at me must fall at the same time on many excellent philosophers. I might indeed

[s] Lys. adv. Simon. p. 88. Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 1. t. ii. p. 512. [t] Aristot. ibid. Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2. p. 292. [u] Cicer. de Clar. Orat. c. 12. t. i. p. 346. Quinctil. lib. 2. c. 15. p. 123. Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2. p. 304. [x] Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 520. [y] Cicer. Orat. c. 19. t. i. p. 434.

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have cited in my favour the testimonies of Plato and Aristotle;[z] but these great authorities are useless when I am able to adduce such solid arguments in proof of what I have advanced.

Pythodorus had scarcely ended, when Leon undertook the defence of rhetoric; but, as it was late, we determined to retire.

[z] Plat. in Gorg. tom. i. p. 463, &c. Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 2. c. 24. p. 581; lib. 3. c. 1. p. 584.

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CHAPTER LIX.

Tour of Attica.—Agriculture.—Mines of Sunium.—Discourse of Plato on the Formation of the World.

I HAD often passed considerable time in different country houses, and had frequently traversed Attica. I shall here collect the principal remarks which I made during these excursions.

The fields are separated from each other by hedges or by walls.[a] By a wise regulation observed in Attica, such lands as are mortgaged for the repayment of money are pointed out by small columns bearing an inscription which records the obligations contracted with a creditor. Similar columns placed before the houses that are pledged in like manner make them known to every one,[b] and the lender need be under no fear that he should be injured by any secret contracts.

The possessor of a field may not dig a well, or build a house or a wall, in it, except at a certain distance, prescribed by law, from the field of his neighbour:[c] neither is he permitted to turn aside the waters which descend from the hills that surround his land, over his neighbour's ground; but he

[a] Lys. de Sacr. Oliv. p. 144. Demosth. in Callicl. p. 1116. et 1117. Harpocr. et Suid. in Αέρθτ. [b] Harpocr. in Αστικτ. Id. Hesych. et Suid. in Ορος. Poll. lib. 3. c. 9. § 85. Duport. in Theophr. Charact. c. 10. p. 360. [c] Pett. Legg. Att. p. 387.

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may turn them into the public road,[d] and the proprietors of the adjacent fields must defend their lands from them. In certain places the rain-water is received in canals, which convey it to a great distance.[e]

Apollodorus had a considerable estate near Eleusis, to which he took me with him. The fields were covered with ripened corn, and slaves reaping it with the sickle, while young children gathered the falling ears, and gave them to those who bound them up in sheaves.[f]

They had begun their work at the dawn of day,[g] and the whole family shared in these rural labours.[h] In a corner of the field, beneath the shade of a great tree, some men were preparing the provisions;[i] women were boiling lentils,[ii] and pouring meal into vessels full of boiling water, for the dinner of the reapers,[k] who animated each other to their labour by songs with which the fields resounded.

> O bounteous Ceres! with indulgent smile,
> Survey and prosper this our rustic toil:
> Ye joyous reapers, clear the yellow plain,
> And to the north expose the swelling grain.
> The lark awakes: your sharpen'd sickles wield,
> Nor quit, till he retires to rest, the field.[l]

Other couplets expressed an envy of the happy condition of the frog, who has always plenty of

[d] Demosth. in Callicl. p. 1119. [e] Id. ibid. p. 1118. [f] Homer. Iliad. lib. 18. v. 555. [g] Hesiod. Oper. v. 578. [h] Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 18. p. 1162. [i] Schol. Theocr. in Idyll. 10. v. 54. [ii] Theocr. ibid. [k] Homer. Iliad. lib. 18. v. 555. [l] Theocr. ibid.

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drink; in others, jokes were passed on the management of the inspector of the slaves, and the workmen advised to tread the corn at noon, because then the grain may be more easily separated from the husks in which it is inclosed.[m]

The sheaves, when conveyed to the threshing-floor, are disposed circularly and in layers. One of the labourers places himself in the middle of them, holding in one hand a whip, and in the other a bridle, with which he guides the oxen, horses, or mules, which he makes to walk, or trot, round him. Some of his companions turn the straw, and place it under the feet of the animals, till it is entirely broken;[n] others throw handfuls into the air,[o] when a brisk gale, which commonly rises about that time, wafts the chaff to a little distance, while the grain falls directly down, and is gathered up and put into earthen vessels.[p]

Some months after we again visited the farm of Apollodorus. The vintagers were gathering the grapes from the vines, which were supported by props.[q] Boys and girls filled wicker-baskets with them, and carried them to the wine-press.[r] Before they are pressed, some farmers cause vine-branches loaded with grapes to be brought home.[s] They ex-

[m] Theocr. in Idyll. 10. v. 54. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. ix. p. 350. [n] Homer. Il. lib. 20. v. 495. Xen. Mem. lib. 5. p. 863. [o] Hom. Odyss. lib. 11. v. 127. Eustath. ibid. p. 1675. lin. 50. [p] Hesiod. Oper. v. 475 et 600. Procl. ib. [q] Homer. Il. lib. 18. v. 563. [r] Id. ibid. v. 567. Eustath. t. ii. p. 1163. lin. 45. Anacr. Od. 52. [s] Anacr. Od. 50. Note de M. Dacier.

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pose them to the sun for ten days, and keep them in the shade for five days more.[t]

Some keep their wine in casks,[u] others in leather bottles,[x] or in earthen vessels.[y]

While the vintage was pressing, we heard with much pleasure the *songs of the wine-press;*[z] for so they are called. We had also heard others during the dinner of the vintagers, and in the different intervals of the day, which were accompanied with dancing.[a]

The harvest[b] and the vintage[c] conclude with festivals celebrated with all those rapid emotions of mirth which plenty produces, and which are diversified according to the nature of the object. Corn being considered as the bounty of a goddess who has provided for our necessities, and wine as the gift of a god solicitous to increase our pleasures, the gratitude manifested to Ceres exhibits itself in a lively but decently attempered joy, while that to Bacchus riots in all the transports of delirium.

Sacrifices are likewise offered in seed-time and hay-harvest. At the season for gathering olives and other fruits they also present on the altar the first they gather, as gifts received from heaven. The

[t] Hesiod. Oper. v. 610. Homer. Odys. lib. vii. v. 123. [u] Anacr. Od. 52. [x] Homer. Odyss. lib. 9. v. 196. [y] Id. ibid. v. 204. Herodot. lib. 3. c. 6. [z] Anacr. Od. 52. Oppian. de Venat. lib. i. v. 127. Poll. lib. 4. c. 7. § 55. [a] Homer. Iliad. lib. 18. v. 572. [b] Theocr. Idyll. 7. v. 23. Schol. in v. 1. Schol. Homer. in Iliad. 9. v. 530. Etymol. Magn. in Θαλύς. Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 336. Corsin. Fast. Attic. Dissert. 13. t. ii. p. 802. Meurs. in Αλωα et in Θαλύς. [c] Theophr. Charact. c. 13. Castellan de Fest. Græcor. in Dionys.

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Greeks have felt that on these occasions the heart should expand, and pay grateful homage to the authors of the benefits bestowed on man.

Besides these general festivals, each town and district of Attica has its particular ones, in which, though there is less magnificence, there is more mirth, for the inhabitants of the country are unacquainted with fictitious joy. Their whole soul manifests itself without disguise in the rustic shows and innocent games which assemble them together. I have frequently seen a number of them collected round some leathern bottles, filled with wine, and oiled on the outside. Some young persons hopped over these bottles, and, by their frequent falls, occasioned loud laughter among the by-standers.[d] Close to these were children jumping after each other on one leg;[e] others playing at even or odd,[f] and others at blindman's-buff.[g] Sometimes a line drawn on the ground divided them into two parties, and they played at day or night.* The party which had lost ran away, and the others pursued them to overtake and make them prisopers.[h] These amusements are only in use among the children in the city, but in the country grown persons do not blush to join in them.

Euthymenes, one of our friends, had always relied for the management of his affairs in the country on

[d] Heysch. in Ἀσκωλ. Eustath. in Odyss. lib. 10. p. 1646. lin. 21; lib. 14. p. 1769. lin. 47. Schol. Aristoph. in Plut. v. 1130. Phurnut. de Nat. Deor. c. 30. [e] Poll. lib. 9. c. 7. § 121. [f] Meurs. de Lud. Græc. in Ἀρτιάζ. [g] Id. ibid. in Μυῖα. * This game resembled that of cross or pile.
[h] Meurs. de Lud. Græc. in Ὄστρακ.

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the vigilance and fidelity of a slave whom he had placed over the others.[i] Convinced, at length, that the eye of a master is much more discerning than that of a steward,[k] he determined to retire to his country-house, situate in the village or borough of Acharnæ, at the distance of sixty stadia from Athens.[l]*

We paid him a visit there some years after. His health, which had formerly been in a declining state, was re-established. His wife and children partook and increased his happiness. Our life, said he to us, is active, but not agitated: we are unacquainted with disgust or weariness, and we enjoy without alloy the felicity of the present moment.

He showed us his house, which had not long been built. It fronted the south, that it might receive the warmth of the sun in winter, and be defended from its heat in summer, when that luminary has attained his greatest elevation.[m] The apartment of the women was separated from that of the men by baths, which prevented any communication between the slaves of different sexes. Each room was adapted to the purpose for which it was designed. The corn was kept in a dry place, and the wine in a cool one. The furniture was not rich and sumptuous, but the utmost neatness was every where conspicuous. Garlands, and incense for sacrifices, habits of ceremony for the festivals, armour and military dresses, garments for the different seasons, kitchen-utensils, instruments to grind wheat, vessels in which to knead dough, and

[i] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 855. [k] Id. ibid. p. 854.
[l] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 21. * About two leagues and a quarter.
[m] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 777; lib. 5. p. 844.

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provisions for the whole year, and each month in particular, all were found with facility, because all were in their proper places, and orderly arranged.[n] The inhabitants of the city, said Euthymenes, would treat this methodical exactness with contempt; they are ignorant how much time is saved by it in looking for things, and that a husbandman ought to be as great an economist of his time as of his money.

I have set over my house, added he, an intelligent and active woman. After being satisfied that her manners were unexceptionable, I gave her an exact inventory of all the things committed to her care. And how, said I, do you recompense her services? By esteem and confidence, answered he. Since she has been entrusted with every secret of our affairs, they have become her own.[o] We pay the same attention to those of our slaves who show zeal and fidelity in our service. They have better shoes, and are better clothed. These little distinctions render them sensible to honour,[p] and retain them in their duty more effectually than the fear of punishment.

My wife and myself have divided between us the care and management of our affairs. She regulates all the household concerns, and I inspect whatever is done without doors.[q] I have undertaken to cultivate and improve the lands which I have inherited from my ancestors. Laodice takes account of what is received and expended, and of the storing and distribution of the corn, wine, oil, and fruits, which are de-

[n] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 843. [o] Id. ibid. lib. v. p. 845.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 855 et 857. [q] Id. ibid. p. 838.

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livered to her care. She also maintains order among our domestics, sending some to the field, and distributing to others wool, which she teaches them to prepare and make into clothing.[r] Her example lightens their labours: and when they are sick, her attentions and mine alleviate their sufferings. We compassionate the condition of our slaves, and are ever ready to allow that they have numerous claims to our gratitude.

After having crossed a court-yard full of fowls, ducks, and other domestic birds,[s] we visited the stables, sheep-folds, and likewise the flower-garden; in which we saw successively bloom narcissuses, hyacinths, irises, violets of different colours,[t] roses of various species,[u] and all kinds of odoriferous plants.[x] You cannot be surprised, said my friend, at the care with which I cultivate flowers: you know that with them we adorn the temples, altars, and statues of our gods;[y] that we wear crowns of them at our entertainments, and the celebration of our sacred rites; that we strew them on our tables and our beds; and that we even offer to the divinities those which we esteem most grateful to them. A husbandman, besides, ought not to neglect the smallest profits. Every time I send wood, charcoal,[z] fruits, or other commodities, to the market of Athens, I always add to these some baskets of flowers, which are sure to find a speedy sale.

[r] Xenoph. Memor. p. 839, &c. [s] Heysch. in Κόσκινοι.
[t] Athen. lib. 15. c. 9. p. 683. [u] Theophr. ap. Athen. p. 682.
[x] Id. Hist. Plant. lib. 6. c. 6. p. 643. [y] Xenoph. Memor. p. 183.
[z] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 212.

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Euthymenes afterward conducted us to his farm, which was more than forty stadia in circuit,[a]* and from which he had obtained the preceding year above a thousand medimni of barley, and eight hundred measures of wine.[b] He had six beasts of burden, which every day carried to market wood and other commodities, and brought him in twelve drachmas daily.[c]† As he complained that inundations frequently carried away his crops, we asked him why he had not removed to a part of the country less subject to such accidents. Advantageous exchanges have often been proposed to me, answered he, and you shall see why I have not accepted them. He immediately opened the door of a small inclosure, in which we found a plat of grass surrounded with cypress-trees. Here, said he, are the tombs of my family.[d] There, beneath those poppies, I saw the grave dug in which the remains of my father are deposited. By the side of it is that of my mother. I sometimes come hither to converse with them, and imagine that I see and hear them. No; never will I leave this sacred spot. My son, said he afterward, turning to a little boy who followed us, when I am dead, lay me beside my parents; and when you have the misfortune to lose your mother, place her next to me. Remember it is my command.

[a] Demosth. in Phœnip. p. 1023. * About a league and a half. [b] Demosth. in Phœnip. p. 1025. [c] Id. ibid. p. 1023. † See note XIII. at the end of the volume. [d] Demosth. in Calliel. p. 1117. Id. in Macart. p. 1040.

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His son promised not to neglect what he had enjoined him, and burst into tears.

The borough of Acharnæ is full of vineyards,[e] and the whole country of Attica covered with olive-trees, which are more carefully cultivated there than any other kind of tree. Euthymenes had planted a great number of them, especially along the roads which bordered his farm. He allowed the space of nine feet between each, because he knew that their roots will extend to a considerable distance.[f] No person is permitted to root up on his grounds more than two olive-trees in a year, unless it be for some use authorised by religion. He who violates this law is condemned to pay for each tree a hundred drachmas to the informer, and another hundred to the public treasury, a tenth of which is deducted for the treasury of Minerva.[g]

We frequently find clusters of olive-trees left in reserve, and surrounded by a hedge. These do not appertain to the owner of the field, but to the temple of the above-mentioned goddess. They are farmed out,[h] and their produce is entirely set apart for the maintenance of her worship. If the proprietor of the land should cut down a single tree, even though it should be only a barren trunk, he would be punished with banishment and confiscation of his goods. The Areopagus takes cognisance of all

[e] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 511. [f] Xen. Memor. p. 865. Plut. in Sol. t. i. p. 91. [g] Demosth. in Macart. p. 1039. Pet. Legg. Att. p. 391. [h] Lys. in Areopag. p. 133.

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offences relative to the different kinds of olive-trees, and from time to time sends inspectors to watch over their preservation.[i]

Continuing our walk, we were passed by a numerous flock of sheep, preceded and followed by dogs kept to drive away the wolves.[k] A covering of skin was wrapt round each sheep. This practice, which has been borrowed from the Megareans,[l] defends the wool from the filth which might otherwise defile it, and prevents it from being torn by the hedges. I know not whether it contributes to render the wool finer, but I can affirm that the wool of Attica is extremely fine.[m] I should add likewise, that the art of dyeing has there been brought to such perfection, that the colours it gives to it are never effaced.[n]

I learned on this occasion that sheep grow the fatter the more they drink; and that to excite their thirst, salt is often mixed with what they eat; and that, in summer especially, a certain measure of it, that is a medimnus* for each hundred sheep, is distributed among them every fifth day. I was likewise told that, when they are thus made to eat salt, they give more milk.[o]

At the foot of a small eminence which bounded

[i] Lys. in Areopag. p. 136 et 143. Markl. Conject. ad c. 7. Lys. p. 548. ad cal. edit. Taylor. [k] Xen. Memor. lib. ii. p. 757 et 759. [l] Diogen. Laërt. lib. 6. § 41. [m] Varr. de Re Lustic. lib. 2. c. 2. Plut. de Audit. t. ii. p. 42. Athen. lib. 5. p. 219. [n] Plat. de Rep. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 429. * About four bushels. [o] Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 8. c. 10. t. i. p. 906.

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a meadow, we saw a number of bee-hives surrounded with rosemary and broom. Observe, said Euthymenes, with what industrious alacrity the bees execute the commands of their queen; for she it is who, not suffering them to remain idle, sends them into this beautiful meadow to collect the rich materials, the use of which she regulates; she it is who superintends the construction of the cells, and the education of the young bees, which, when they are capable of providing for their subsistence, she forms into a swarm,[p] and obliges to leave their home under the conduct of a bee which she has chosen.*

Further on, between hills enriched with vineyards, we came to a plain where we saw yokes of oxen, some of which drew tumbrels of dung, while others, harnessed to the plough, laboriously traced the lengthened furrow.[q] I shall sow barley here, said Euthymenes, for that is the kind of grain which succeeds best in Attica.[r] The wheat we grow here affords indeed a bread very agreeable to the taste, but it is less nutritive than that of Bœötia; and it has been more than once remarked, that the Bœötian athletæ, while they reside at Athens, consume two-fifths more of wheat than in their own country;[s] yet is that country contiguous to ours: so true is it, that a little thing suffices to alter the influence of climate. As

[p] Xen. Memor. lib. 5. p. 837 et 839. * See note XIV. at the end of the volume. [q] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 5. c. 14. [r] Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 8. cap. 8. p. 947. [s] Id. ibid. cap. 4. p. 932.

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another proof of this, it may be remarked, that the isle of Salamis is close to Attica, yet grain ripens there much sooner than with us.[t]

The discourse of Euthymenes, and the objects by which I was surrounded, began to engage my attention. I already perceived that the science of agriculture was not founded merely on blind custom, but on a long series of observations. It appears, said our guide, that we formerly received the principles of this art from the Egyptians,[u] and that we communicated them to the other nations of Greece, the greater part of whom, in gratitude for so great a benefit, bring us every year the first fruits of their harvests.[x] I know that other Grecian cities make the same pretensions with ourselves;[y] but to what purpose would it be to discuss their claims? The most necessary arts have had their birth among the most ancient nations, and their origin is the more illustrious as it is more obscure.

That of husbandry, when transmitted to the Greeks, became improved by experience; and a number of writers have employed themselves to collect its precepts. Several celebrated philosophers, as Democritus, Archytas, and Epicharmus, have left us useful instructions on the subject of rustic labours,[z] and many ages before them they had been

[t] Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 8. c. 3. p. 913. [u] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 13, 14, 25; lib. 5. p. 336. [x] Isocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 133. Justin. lib. 2. c. 6. [y] Goguet. Orig. des Lois, t. ii. p. 177. [z] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 1. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 308. Varr. de Re Rustic. lib. 1. cap. 1. Colum. de Re Rustic. lib. 1. cap. 1.

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sung by Hesiod in one of his poems:[a] but a husbandman ought not to abide so implicitly by their precepts as never to dare to interrogate nature, and make new experiments. If then, replied I, I had a field to cultivate, it would not be sufficient to consult the authors you have mentioned? No, answered my friend; they give many excellent directions, but such as are not suitable to every soil and every climate.

Let us suppose that you intended one day to exercise the noble profession which I follow. I should first endeavour to prove to you that all your care and all your time should be devoted to the earth, and that the more you shall do for her, the more she will do for you;[b] for she is only so beneficent because she is just.[c]

To this principle I should add, sometimes rules confirmed by the experience of ages, and sometimes doubts which you might resolve by your own observations or the knowledge of others. I should say to you, for example: Choose a favourable situation.[d] Study the nature of soils, and the manures proper to each production.[e] Inform yourself when it may be necessary to mingle earths of different kinds;[f] and when the earth should be mixed with the dung,[g] or the dung with the grain.[h]

[a] Hesiod. Oper. et Dies. [b] Xen. Mem. lib. 5. p. 868. [c] Id. ibid. p. 832. [d] Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 3. c. 1. [e] Id. Hist. Plant. lib. 8. c. 8. p. 946. [f] Id. de Caus. Plant. lib. 3. cap. 25. [g] Id. ibid. cap. 7. [h] Id. Hist. Plant. lib. 7. cap. 5. p. 792.

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If the subject in question were the cultivation of wheat in particular, I should add: Redouble your labours. Do not commit to the earth the grain you have last reaped, but that of the preceding year.[i] Sow sooner or later, according to the temperature of the season;[k] thicker or thinner, according as the earth is lighter or heavier;[l] but always sow equally.[m] Does your wheat run up too high, be careful to cut it, or turn in sheep to browse on it;[n] for the former of these methods is sometimes dangerous; the grain becomes long and thin. Have you much straw, only cut down half of it, and burn what remains on the ground, it will serve for manure.[o] Lay up your wheat in a dry place;[p] and, that it may keep a long time, do not spread it, but heap it up, and even water it.[q]

Euthymenes made several other remarks on the cultivation of wheat, and enlarged still more on tha of the vine. I shall give you his observations in his own words:

We must be particularly attentive to the nature of the young plant, the labours it requires, and the means of rendering it fruitful. A number of practices relative to these various objects, and frequently contradictory to each other, have been introduced in the different districts of Greece.

[i] Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 8. cap. 11. p. 962. Plin. lib. 18. cap. 24. t. ii. p. 127. Geopon. lib. 2. c. 16. [k] Xen. Memor. lib. 5. p. 861. [l] Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 8. cap. 6. p. 939. [m] Xen. Memor. lib. 5. p. 861. [n] Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 8. cap. 7. p. 942. [o] Xen. Memor. lib. 5. p. 862. [p] Id. ibid. p. 844. [q] Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 4. c. 15.

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Almost every-where vines are supported with props.[r] They are only manured once in four years, or not so often; more frequent manurings would at last burn them up.[s]

The attention of the vine-dresser is principally directed to the pruning; the object of which is to render the vine stronger, more fruitful, and longer lived.[t]

In a ground newly cleared, a young plant should be pruned in the third year, but later in one that has been long cultivated.[u] With respect to the season, some maintain that this operation ought to be early performed; because inconveniences may result from pruning either in winter or in spring, since in the former case the wound cannot close, and the eyes or buds are in danger of being dried up by the cold; and, in the latter, the sap is exhausted, and flows over the buds near the wound.[x]

Others make distinctions according to the nature of the soil. They say that the vines in a thin and dry ground should be pruned in autumn; those in a cold and moist one in spring; and those in a soil neither too dry nor too moist in winter. By these means the former would preserve the sap necessary to them, the second lose that which is superfluous, and all would produce an excellent wine. One proof, say they, that in moist grounds pruning should be deferred till the spring, and a part of the sap suffered to flow off, is the custom we have of sow-

[r] Xen. Memor. lib. 5. p. 866. Theophrast. de Caus. Plant. lib. 2. c. 25. [s] Theophr. ibid. lib. 3. c. 13. [t] Id. ibid. c. 19. [u] Id. ibid. c. 18. [x] Id. ibid. c. 20.

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ing in vineyards barley and beans, which absorb the humidity of the soil, and prevent the vine from exhausting itself in useless branches.

The vine-dressers are divided on another question,[y] Whether vines should be pruned long or short. Some say this is to be determined by the nature of the plant or the soil; and others, that it depends on the quantity of sap in the branches: if that is abundant, several very short shoots should be left, that the vine may produce more grapes; but if there is but little of it, fewer shoots should be left, and the vine should be pruned longer.

The vines which bear many branches and few grapes, require that the shoots at the top should be pruned long, and those lower down short, in order that the vine may be strengthened at the root, and at the same time the branches at the top produce much fruit.

It is advantageous to prune young vines short, that they may grow stronger; for vines which are pruned long produce indeed more fruit, but sooner die.[z]

I shall not speak of the different labours which the vine requires,[a] nor of several practices, the utility of which is acknowledged. We frequently see the vine-dressers strew a light dust over the grapes, to defend them from the heat of the sun, and for other reasons which it would be too tedious to enumerate.[b] At other times we see them pluck off some of the

[y] Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 3. cap. 19. [z] Id. ibid. c. 20.
[a] Id. ibid. c. 21. [b] Id. ibid. c. 22.

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leaves, that the clusters, being more exposed to the sun, may ripen sooner.[c]

Would you wish to restore youth to a vine nearly dead with old age, remove the earth on one side, and pick and clean the roots, applying to them different kinds of manure, and covering them with the earth. It will produce scarcely any fruit the first year, but, after three or four years, it will have regained its former vigour. If you afterwards perceive it begin to languish, again repeat the same operation on the other side; and these precautions taken every ten years, will in some measure render your vine immortal.[d]

To obtain grapes without stones, you must take a vine-shoot, and cut it lightly in the part which is be set in the ground; take out the pith from this part, unite the two sides separated by the incision, cover them with wet paper, and plant it in the earth. The experiment will succeed better if the lower part, thus prepared, be put in a sea-onion before it is planted. Other methods are known to produce the same effect.[e]

Would you wish to have on the same vine both black and white grapes, or clusters, the berries of which shall be some black and others white,[f] take a shoot of each kind, bruise them in their upper part,

[c] Xen. Memor. lib. 5. p. 866. [d] Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 4. c. 15. [e] Id. de Caus. Plant. lib. 5. c. 5. Democr. Geopon. lib. 4. c. 7. Pallad. de Re Rustic. Febr. tit. 29. Colum. de Arbor. 9. Plin. lib. 17. c. 21. t. ii. p. 74. Traité de la Vigne, t. i. p. 29. [f] Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 5. c. 5.

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so that they may closely unite and incorporate, if I may so speak, tie them together, and plant them.

We afterwards requested from Euthymenes some instructions concerning the different kinds of plants of the kitchen garden and fruit-trees. The former, said he, come up sooner when we make use of seed which is two or three years old.[g] There are some which it is advantageous to water with salt-water.[h] Cucumbers* are sweeter when their seeds have been steeped in milk for two days.[i] They thrive better in grounds naturally a little moist, than in gardens where they are frequently watered.[k] Would you have them early, sow them at first in pots, and water them with warm water;[l] but I must tell you that they will have less flavour than if they had been watered with cold water.[m] To render them large, care is taken, as soon as they begin to be formed, to cover them with a pot or vessel, or to introduce them into a kind of tube. To preserve them a long time, they should be covered, and kept hung up in a well.[n]

Trees should be planted in autumn, or rather in the spring.[o] The trench should be digged at least a year before they are planted.[p] It is usual to leave

[g] Aristot. Problem. § 10. Quæst. 36. t. ii. p. 773. [h] Theophr. ibid. lib. 2. c. 7. * See note XV. at the end of the volume. [i] Theophr. ibid. lib. 3. c. 12. Id. Histor. Plant. lib. 7. c. 3. Pallad. in Mart. lib. 4. c. 9. Colum. de Re Rustic. lib. 11. c. 3. Plin. lib. 19. c. 5. t. ii. p. 165. [k] Aristot. Probl. t. ii. p. 776. [l] Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 5. c. 6. [m] Aristot. Probl. p. 775. Theophr. ibid. lib. 2. c. 8. [n] Aristot. Probl. p. 773. Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 5. c. 6. [o] Id. ibid. lib. 3. c. 3 et 4. [p] Id. ibid. c. 5.

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it a long time open, as if it were to be fecundated by the air.[q] The dimensions of the trench are varied according as the soil is dry or moist. It is usual to allow to it two feet and a half in depth, and two feet in breadth.[r]

I only relate, said Euthymenes, practices that are known and familiar to all cultivated nations;—and which, replied I immediately, do not sufficiently excite their admiration. What time, what reflection, must not have been necessary to observe and gain a knowledge of the wants, the varieties, and resources of nature, — to render her docile, and diversify or correct her productions! I was surprised at my arrival in Greece to see trees manured and pruned;[s] but how great was my admiration to find that the secret had been discovered to diminish the kernel of some fruits to increase the size of the pulp;[t] that other fruits, and especially pomegranates, had been made to grow larger on the tree, by covering them with an earthen vessel;[u] and that trees were compelled to bear fruits of different kinds,[x] and be loaded with productions foreign to their nature!

This latter prodigy, said Euthymenes, is effected by grafting, by which the roughness and sourness of the fruits of wild trees is corrected.[y] Almost all garden trees undergo this operation, which is ordinarily performed on trees of the same species; as, for

[q] Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 5. c. 18. [r] Xen. Memor. lib. 5. p. 864. [s] Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 3. c. 2. [t] Id. ibid. lib. 1. c. 18. [u] Aristot. Probl. § 20. t. ii. p. 772. [x] Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 5. c. 5. [y] Id. ibid. lib. 1. 6 et 7.

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example, a fig is grafted on another fig-tree, an apple on a pear-tree,[z] &c.

Figs ripen sooner when they have been punctured by gnats that come from the fruit of a wild fig-tree, purposely planted near.[a] Yet those which ripen naturally are preferred, and the dealers who sell them in the market never fail to mention this difference.[b]

It is said that pomegranates will be sweeter when the tree is watered with cold water, and pig's dung laid round the roots; that almonds have more flavour when nails are driven into the trunk of the tree, and the sap suffered to flow out for some time;[c] and that olive trees do not thrive when they are more than three hundred stadia from the sea.[d]* It is likewise said that certain trees have a sensible influence on other trees; that olive-trees delight in the neighbourhood of wild pomegranates,[e] and garden pomegranates in that of myrtles.[f] It is added, in fine, that the difference of sex must be admitted in trees and plants,[g] an opinion which was at first founded on the analogy that was imagined to exist between animals and the other productions of nature, and afterwards confirmed by the observation that palm-trees do not bear fruit unless the females are fecundated

[z] Aristot. de Plant. lib. 1. c. 6. t. ii. p. 1016. [a] Id. ibid. p. 1017. Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 2. c. 12. Tournefort. Voyage du Levant, t. i. p. 338. [b] Theophr. ibid. c. 13. [c] Aristot. de Plant. lib. 1. c. 7. t. ii. p. 1017. [d] Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 6. c. 2. p. 550. * 11. 1-3d leagues. [e] Aristot. de Plant. c. 6. p. 1017. [f] Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 2. c. 9. p. 243. [g] Aristot. de Plant. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 1011. Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 3. c. 9. p. 146.

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by the down or dust contained in the flower of the male.[h] This species of phænomenon must first have been observed in Egypt and the neighbouring countries; for in Greece the palm trees raised for the ornament of gardens bear no dates, or at least never bring them to perfect maturity.[i]

In general the fruits of Attica have a sweetness not found in those of the neighbouring countries,[k] which advantage they owe less to the industry of the cultivator than the influence of the climate. We as yet are ignorant how far this influence will correct the sourness of those beautiful fruits which hang on that citron-tree lately brought from Persia to Athens.[l]

Euthymenes spoke to us concerning rustic labours with pleasure, and with transport on the delights of a country life.

One evening, when we were seated at table, before his house, under some superb plane-trees, that arched over our heads, he said to us: When I walk in my fields, all things smile and seem embellished with new ornaments in my eyes. These harvests, trees, and plants, exist only for me, or rather for the necessitous whose wants I relieve. Sometimes I create to myself illusions to heighten my enjoyments, and the earth then seems to accompany her benefactions with a species of delicacy, announcing her

[h] Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 2. p. 113. [i] Id. ibid. lib. 3. c. 5. p. 124. [k] Aristot. Problem. t. ii. p. 774. [l] Antiphon. ap. Athen. lib. 3. c. 7. p. 84. Salmas. Exercit. in Plin. p. 956.

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fruits by flowers, as among men benefits ought to be accompanied by the graces.

An emulation without rivalry forms the bond of the union between me and my neighbours. They frequently come and take their places around this table, which was never yet encircled but by my friends. Confidence and frankness reign at these repasts; we communicate to each other our discoveries; for, unlike to other artists who have secrets,[m] each is only emulous to inform himself and instruct his friends.

Then addressing himself to some inhabitants of the city of Athens, who had that moment arrived, he added: You imagine yourselves free within the inclosure of your walls; but that independence which the laws grant to you is incessantly torn from you by the tyranny of society. Have you not employments to intrigue for and to discharge, powerful men to sooth and flatter, secret mischiefs to foresee and to shun, and duties of ceremony, more rigorous than those of nature, to fulfil? Are you not compelled to a continual restraint in your dress, demeanour, actions, and words,—to endure the insupportable pressure of idleness, and the tedious persecutions of the importunate? There is no kind of slavery by which you are not held in bondage.

Your festivals are most magnificent, but ours most mirthful; your pleasures superficial and transient, but ours real and constant. Can the dignities of the

[m] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 858.

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republic afford any functions more noble than the exercise of an art, without which industry and commerce must alike decline?[n]

Have you ever, in your rich apartments, breathed an air so fresh as that we respire in this verdant arbour? or can your entertainments, sometimes so sumptuous, compare with the bowls of milk which we have just drawn, and those delicious fruits which we have gathered with our own hands? And what a relish do we acquire to our repasts from labours, which it is so pleasing to undertake even in the frosts of the winter, and the heats of summer,[o] and from which it is so delightful to rest, sometimes amid the thick woods fanned by the breath of zephyrs, and reclining on a turf which invites to sleep; and sometimes near a sparkling fire[p] fed by the trunks of trees which I have felled on my own grounds, surrounded by my wife and children, objects ever new, of the most tender love, in defiance of the impetuous winds which howl around my cottage without being able to disturb its tranquillity!

Ah! if happiness be only the health of the soul, must it not be found in those places where a just proportion ever reigns between our wants and our desires, where motion is constantly followed by rest, and where our affections are always accompanied by tranquillity?

We had frequent conversations with Euthymenes, and on one occasion mentioned to him that Xeno-

[n] Xen. Memor. lib. 5. p. 832. [o] Id. ibid. p. 831. [p] Id. ibid. p. 832.

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phon, in some of his writings,[q] had proposed to grant to those who should best cultivate their land, not rewards in money, but certain honourable distinctions. That expedient, answered he, might tend to the encouragement of agriculture; but the republic is so occupied in distributing favours to idle and powerful men, that it cannot bestow a thought on useful and obscure citizens.

Having left Acharnæ, we continued our journey toward Bœötia. On our way we saw several castles surrounded with thick walls and lofty towers, such as those of Phyle, Decelia, and Rhamnus. The frontiers of Attica are defended on every side by these fortresses, and the country people are directed to take refuge in them in case of an invasion.[r]

Rhamnus is situate near the sea. On a neighbouring eminence stands the temple of the implacable Nemesis, the goddess of vengeance. Her statue, which is ten cubits high,* is by the hand of Phidias, and of most beautiful workmanship. That artist sculptured it from a block of Parian marble which the Persians had brought to this place to erect a trophy. Phidias has not inscribed on it his own name, but that of his pupil Agoracritus, whom he extremely loved.[s]

From Rhamnus we went to the town of Marathon, the inhabitants of which were eager to relate

[q] Xen. Hier. p. 916. [r] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 312. Id. de Cor. p. 479. * About 14½ feet. [s] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 32. p. 80. Plin. lib. 36. c. 5. p. 725. Suid. et Hesych. in Ῥαμν. Meurs. de Popul. Attic. in Ῥαμν.

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to us the principal circumstances of the victory which the Athenians, under the conduct of Militiades, had formerly gained there over the Persians. This celebrated event has left such an impression on their minds, that they imagine they hear, during the night, the cries of the combatants, and the neighing of horses.[t] They showed us the tombs of the Greeks who fell in the battle: these are small columns, on which their names only have been inscribed. We prostrated ourselves before that which the Athenians consecrated to the memory of Miltiades, after having suffered him to expire in a dungeon: it is only distinguished from the rest by being erected at a small distance from them.[u]

As we approached Brauron, the air resounded with joyful shouts. The inhabitants of that town were celebrating the festival of Diana, their tutelary goddess.[x] Her statue appeared to us to be of great antiquity, and we were told that it was the same which Iphigenia brought from Taurica.[y] All the Athenian maidens must be consecrated to this goddess, after they have attained their fifth, and before they have passed their tenth year.[z] A great number of them, brought by their parents, and having at their head the young priestess of Diana,[a] are present at these ceremonies, which they embellish by their

[t] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 32. p. 79. [u] Id. ibid. [x] Meurs. de Popul. Attic. in Βραυρ. Id. in Græc. For. Castell. de Fest. Græc. [y] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 23. p. 55; et c. 33. p. 80. [z] Aristoph. in Lysistr. v. 644. Schol. ibid. Harpocr. et Hesych. in Αρκτ. et in Δεκατ. [a] Dinarch. in Aristogit. p. 106. Demosth. in Conon. p. 1112.

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presence, and during which rhapsodists sing portions of the Iliad.[b] As a consequence of their being thus devoted, they come before marriage to offer sacrifices to this goddess.[c]

We were pressed to wait some days, that we might be present at a festival, which is repeated every fifth year[d] in honour of Bacchus, and which, as it is resorted to by the greater part of the courtesans of Athens, is celebrated with equal splendour and licentiousness;[e] but as the description given us of it only excited our disgust, we proceeded to visit the quarries of Mount Pentelicus, which produce that beautiful white marble so famous throughout Greece, and on which the chisels of able sculptors have so often been employed.[f] It seems as if nature had taken a pleasure in multiplying in the same place, great men, great artists, and the materials most proper to preserve the memory of each. Mount Hymettus,[g] and other mountains of Attica,[h] contain within them similar quarries.

We went to pass the night at Prasiæ, a small town situate near the sea. Its port, named Panormus, is a safe and commodious harbour: it is surrounded with valleys and delightful hills, which,

[b] Hesych. in Βραυρ. [c] Suid. in Αρκτ. [d] Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 107. [e] Suid. in Βραυρ. Schol. in Demosth. Orat. adv. Conon. p. 1415. [f] Theophr. de Lapid. § 14. Strab. lib. 9. p. 399. Athen. lib. 13. c. 6. p. 591. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 32. p. 78; lib. 5. c. 10. p. 398; lib. 8. c. 28. p. 658, &c. [g] Strab. lib. 9. p. 399. Plin. lib. 17. c. 1. t. ii. p. 48; lib. 36. c. 8. t. ii. p. 724; et c. 15. p. 744. Horat. lib. 2. od. 18. [h] Xen. Rat. Redit. p. 920. Liv. lib. 31. c. 26.

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from the very sea-shore, rise in the form of an amphitheatre, and end in mountains covered with pines, and various kinds of trees.[i]

Proceeding onward, we entered a beautiful plain, which makes part of a district named Paralos.*[k] It is bordered on each side by a range of hills, the summits of which, rounded and separated from each other, seem rather to be the work of art than of nature.[l] This plain conducted us to Thoricos, a strong place situate on the sea-coast;[m] and how great was our joy to learn that Plato was in the neighbourhood, at the house of Theophilus, one of his oldest friends, who had long pressed him to visit his country seat! Several of his disciples had accompanied him to these solitary places. I know not what tender interest the surprise occasioned by these fortuitous meetings inspires, but our interview seemed to have the air of a dramatic discovery, and Theophilus prolonged the pleasure of it by detaining us at his house.

The next day, at a very early hour, we repaired to Mount Laurium, where are the silver mines that have been worked from time immemorial.[n] They are so rich, that the veins of metal seem to have no end;[o] and a much greater number of pits might be sunk, if such undertakings did not require considerable sums. Besides the purchasing of instruments, and the erecting of houses and furnaces, it is necessary to

[i] Chandler's Travels in Greece, p. 157. * That is to say, *Maritime.* [k] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 55. [l] Wheler's Journey, c. 447. Voyag. MSS. [m] Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 928. [n] Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 924. [o] Id. ibid. p. 927.

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have a great number of slaves, the price of which continually varies. According as they are stronger or weaker, older or younger, they cost from three to six hundred drachmas,* and sometimes more.[p] When the adventurers are not rich enough to purchase them, they contract for them with those citizens who have a great number of them, to whom they pay an obolus a day for each slave.†

Every individual who, on his own account, or at the head of a company, undertakes to make new researches, must purchase a permission, which can only be granted by the republic.[q] He must address himself to the magistrates who have the direction of the department of the mines. If his proposal be accepted, it is entered in a register, and he is required to pay, besides the premium for his privilege, one twenty-fourth part of his profits to the republic:[r] and if he does not fulfil his engagements, the grant reverts to the treasury, by which it is put up to auction.[s]

Formerly the sums arising from the sale of the privileges or the eventual profits of the mines were distributed to the people. Themistocles induced the general assembly to enact that they should be appropriated to the building of ships.[t] This resource supported the Athenian navy during the Peloponnesian war. Individuals were then seen to acquire consi-

* From 270 to 540 livres (from 11*l.* 5*s.* to 22*l.* 10*s.*)
[p] Demosth. in Aphob. 1. p. 896. † Three sols (three halfpence.) [q] Demosth. in Pantæn. p. 992. [r] Suid. in Αγράφ. [s] Demosth. in Phœnip. p. 1022. [t] Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 113.

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derable wealth by the mines. Nicias, so unfortunately rendered famous by the expedition into Sicily, let out to an adventurer a thousand slaves, for whom he received a thousand oboli, or 166⅔ drachmas, a day.* Hipponicus at the same time had six hundred, which he let out in like manner for six hundred oboli, or a hundred drachmas.†[u] According to this calculation, Xenophon proposed to government to engage in the commerce of the slaves to work the mines.[x] For a beginning, it might have been sufficient to have purchased twelve hundred, and successively to have augmented the number to ten thousand, which would have produced to the state the annual profit of a hundred talents.[y]‡

This project, which might have excited the emulation of those who undertook the working of the mines, was not carried into execution; and, toward the end of this war, it was perceived that the mines produced less than they had formerly done.

Various accidents may disappoint the hopes of the speculators; and I have known many who have ruined themselves for want of property, or a sufficient knowledge of the business they had undertaken.[z] The laws, however, have omitted nothing which may tend to their encouragement. The income from the mines is not reckoned among the property which obliges a citizen to contribute to the expenses of the

* 50 livres (6*l.* 5*s.*) † 90 livres (3*l.* 15*s.*) [u] Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 925. [x] Id. ibid. p. 926. [y] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 773. ‡ 540,000 livres (22,500*l.*) [z] Demosth. in Phœnip. p. 1022 1025.

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state.[a] Punishments are denounced against those who shall obstruct any privileged person in the working of his part of the mines, either by carrying away his machines and instruments, setting fire to the timbers and stays made use of under ground,[b] or by encroaching on his limits; for the grants made to each individual are circumscribed by boundaries which it is not permitted to pass.[c]

We entered these damp and unhealthy places,[d] and witnessed what labour it costs to tear from the bowels of the earth those metals which are destined only to be discovered, and even possessed, by slaves.

On the sides of the mountain, near the pits,[e] are constructed forges and furnaces,[f] to which the ore is carried to separate the silver from the other substances with which it is mixed. It is frequently found united to a sandy red and shining substance, from which has lately been obtained, for the first time, the artificial cinnabar.[g] *

The traveller through Attica must be struck with the contrast presented by the two classes of workmen whose labours are employed on the earth. The one, without fear, and unexposed to danger, gather on the surface the corn, wine, oil, and other fruits, in which they are permitted to participate; they are in general

[a] Demosth. in Phœnip. p. 1022 et 1025. [b] Poll. lib. 7. c. 23. § 98. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 543. [c] Demosth. in Pantæn. p. 992. [d] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 773. [e] Vitruv. lib. 7. c. 7. [f] Demosth. ibid. p. 998. Suid. Harpocr. et Phot. Lex. Man. in Κεττχ. [g] Theophrast. de Lapid. § 104. Plin. lib. 33. c. 7. t. ii. p. 624. Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. iii. p. 262. * This discovery was made about the year 405 before Christ.

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well fed and well clothed; they have their moments of pleasure, and, in the midst of their toil, breathe a free air, and enjoy the splendour of heaven. The other, buried in quarries of marble, or mines of silver, continually in danger of seeing the tomb close over their heads, are only guided in their incessant labours by dim and funeral lights, and are perpetually surrounded by a gross and frequently deadly atmosphere. Unfortunate spectres, to whom no feeling remains but that of their sufferings, nor strength but what must be employed to augment the pride and pomp of their masters, who tyrannise over them! From this comparison we may judge which are the true riches that nature designed for man.

We had not informed Plato of our journey to the mines. He wished to accompany us to Cape Sunium, distant from Athens about three hundred and thirty stadia.[h]* On it stands a superb temple consecrated to Minerva, of white marble, and of the Doric order, surrounded by a peristyle, and having, like that of Theseus, which it resembles in its general disposition, six columns in front, and thirteen on the sides.[i]

From the summit of the promontory are seen, at the foot of the mountain, the harbour and town of Sunium, which is one of the fortresses of Attica.[k] But a grander scene excited our admiration. Sometimes we permitted our eyes to wander over the vast plains of the sea, and at length to repose on the pros-

[h] Strab. lib. 9. page 390. * About twelve leagues and a half. [i] Le Roi Ruines de la Grèce, part i. p. 24. [k] Demosth. de Cor. p. 479. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 2.

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pects presented by the neighbouring islands. Sometimes pleasing recollections seemed to bring nearer to us the isles which escaped our sight. We said: On that side of the horizon is Tenos, in which we find such fertile valleys; and Delos, where such delightful festivals are celebrated. Alexis said to me in a whisper: There is Ceos, where I saw Glycera for the first time. Philoxenus showed me, with a sigh, the island which bears the name of Helen; in which, ten years before, he had with his own hands erected, amid myrtles and cypresses, a monument to the affectionate Coronis, and whither for ten years he had resorted, on certain days, to sprinkle with his tears her cold ashes, still dear to his heart. Plato, on whom great and sublime objects had always made a strong impression, seemed to have fixed his whole attention on the gulfs which nature has excavated to receive the waters of the ocean.

In the mean time the horizon began to be overclouded at a distance with hot and gloomy vapours; the sun grew dim, and the smooth and motionless surface of the waters assumed a melancholy hue, the tints of which incessantly varied. Already the heavens, shut in on every side, only presented to our view a dark vault, from which issued streams of flame. All nature appeared to be in silent and fearful expectation, and in a state of inquietude, which communicated itself to the inmost recesses of our souls. We sought an asylum in the vestibule of the temple, and quickly the thunder, with redoubled peals, broke the barrier of darkness and fire suspended over

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our heads, thick clouds rolled their heavy masses through the air, and descended in torrents on the earth, while the winds, unchained, rushed impetuously on the sea, and upturned its enormous billows. The united roarings of the thunder, the winds, the waves, and the re-echoing caverns and mountains, produced a dreadful sound, which seemed to proclaim the approaching dissolution of the universe. At length, the north wind having redoubled its efforts, the storm departed, to carry its rage into the burning climates of Africa. We followed it with our eyes, and heard it howl at a distance, while with us the sky again shone with a purer splendour, and that sea, which had so lately dashed its foaming surges to the clouds, now scarcely impelled its languid waves to the shore.

At the sight of so many unexpected and rapid changes, we remained for some time motionless and mute; but they quickly reminded us of those doubts and questions which have exercised the curiosity of mankind for such a number of ages. Why these seeming errors and revolutions in nature? Are they to be attributed to chance? But whence then is it that the close-connected chain of beings, though a thousand times on the very verge of being broken, is yet perpetually preserved? Are tempests excited and appeased by an intelligent cause? But what end does that cause propose in them? and whence is it that he darts his lightnings on the desert, while he spares the nations whose guilt loudly calls for his vengeance? From these inquiries we proceeded to the existence of the gods, the reduction of chaos to form and order,

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and the origin of the universe. Wandering and lost in the mazes of these ideas, we conjured Plato to guide us to the truth. He was absorbed in profound meditation; it seemed as if the terrible and majestic voice of nature still resounded in his ears. At length, overcome by our entreaties, and the truths which he revolved in his labouring mind, he seated himself on a rustic seat, and, having placed us by his side,* began his discourse as follows:

Feeble mortals that we are![l] is it for us to penetrate the secrets of the Divinity? for us, the wisest of whom is to the Supreme Being only what an ape is to us?[m] Prostrate at his feet, I entreat him to inspire me with such ideas and such language as shall be pleasing to him, and shall appear to you conformable to reason.[n]

If I were obliged to explain myself in the presence of the multitude concerning the first Author of all things, the origin of the universe, and the cause of evil, I should be compelled to speak in enigmas;[o] but in these solitary places, where I am only heard by God and my friends, I shall have the satisfaction of rendering homage to truth.

The God which I declare unto you, is a God single, immutable, and infinite,[p] the centre of all perfections, and the inexhaustible source of intelligence and being.[q] Before he had created the universe, be-

* See Plate, No. 28. [l] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 29. [m] Heracl. ap. Plat. in Hipp. Major. t. iii. p. 289. [n] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 27. [o] Id. Epist. 2. ad. Dionys. t. iii. p. 312. Id. in Tim. t. iii. p. 28. [p] Id. in Phædon. t. i. p. 78, &c. [q] Id. in Cratyl. t. i. p. 396.

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fore he had externally displayed his power, he was, for he had no beginning;[r] he was in himself, he existed in the profundity of eternity. No; my expressions do not correspond to the elevation of my ideas, nor my ideas to the sublimity of my subject.

Matter, equally eternal, subsisted in a fearful fermentation, containing within itself the germs of all evils, and agitated by impetuous motions, which sought to unite its parts, and destructive principles, which instantly separated them; susceptible of every form, but incapable of retaining any, horror and discord wandered over its tumultuous waves.[s] The dreadful confusion which you have so lately seen in nature was but a feeble image of that which reigned in Chaos.

From all eternity, God, by his infinite goodness, had decreed to create the universe, according to the model ever present to his eyes;[t] a model immutable, increated, and perfect; an idea like to that which an artist conceives when he converts rude stone into a superb edifice; an intellectual world, of which the visible is only the copy and the expression.[u] Whatever in the universe is the object of our senses, and all that escapes their activity, was traced in a sublime manner in the first plan: and as the Supreme Being conceives nothing but what is real, it may be said that

[r] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 96. Plat. in Tim. passim. Id. in Phædon. t. i. p. 78. [s] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ibid. p. 94. Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 30. 51, &c. Diogen. Laërt. lib. 3. § 69. Cicer. Academ. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 78. [t] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ibid. p. 99. Plat. in Tim. ibid. p. 29. Senec. Epist. 65. [u] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 28.

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he had produced the world before he had rendered it sensible.

Thus from all eternity existed God, the author of all good; matter, the principle of all evil; and that model according to which God had determined to reduce matter to order.[x] *

When the moment decreed for this great work had arrived, the Eternal Wisdom issued his commands to chaos, and instantly the whole mass was agitated by a fructifying and unknown motion. Its parts, which had before been separated by an implacable hatred, hastened to unite, and to embrace, and enchain each other. Fire, for the first time, shone in the midst of the darkness, and the air separated from the earth and water.[y] These four elements were destined to form the composition of all bodies.[z]

To direct their motions, God, who had prepared a soul,† composed in part of the divine essence, and in part of material substance,[a] clothed it with the earth, the sea, and the gross air, beyond which he extended the deserts of the heavens. From this intelligent principle, placed in the centre of the universe,[b] issue as it were rays of flame, which are more or less pure

[x] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. ii. p. 94. Plut. de Plat. Philos. lib. 1. c. 11. t. iii. p. 882. Id. de Anim. Procr. p. 1014. Diog. Laërt. lib. 3. § 69. Bruck. Hist. Philos. t. i. p. 678 et 691. * Archytas, before Plato, had admitted three principles, God, matter, and form (Arch. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 82). [y] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 53. [z] Id. ibid. p. 32. † See note XVI. at the end of the volume. [a] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 95. Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 34. [b] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 95. Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 36.

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as they are more or less distant from their centre; which insinuate themselves into bodies, and animate their parts; and which, arrived at the boundaries of the world, diffuse themselves over its circumference, and form all around it a crown of light.[c]

Scarcely had the universal soul been plunged into this ocean of matter which conceals it from our view,[d] when it tried its strength; and several times shaking and rapidly turning on itself the mighty whole, it drew after it the entire universe, obedient to its efforts.

If this soul had only been a pure portion of the divine substance, its action, ever simple and constant, would have impressed only one uniform motion on the whole mass; but as matter made a part of its essence, that occasioned variety in the progression of the universe. Thus, while one general impulse, produced by the divine part of the universal soul, caused the whole to revolve from east to west, in the space of twenty-four hours, a particular impulse, produced by the material portion of that soul, caused the part of the heavens in which the planets float to advance from west to east, according to certain ratios of velocity.[e]

To conceive the cause of these two contrary motions, we must observe, that the divine part of the universal soul is ever in opposition to the material part; that the former is most abundantly found toward the extremities of the world, and the latter in

[c] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxii. p. 19. [d] Plat. in Tim. p. 36. [e] Tim. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 96. Plat. ibid. p. 38.

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the beds of air which surround the earth ;[f] and that, in fine, when motion was to be given to the universe, the material part of the soul, unable entirely to resist the general direction given by the divine part, collected the remains of the irregular motion which had agitated it in chaos, and communicated it to the spheres which surround our globe.

The universe in the mean time was full of life. This only Son, this begotten God,[g] had received a spherical figure, the most perfect of all forms:[h] and was subjected to a circular motion, the most simple of all, and the most suitable to its form.[i] The Supreme Being surveyed his work with complacency,[k] and having compared it with the model which he had followed in his operations, saw with pleasure that the principal features of the original were faithfully expressed in the copy.

But there was one exalted property which it could not receive; eternity, the essential attribute of the intellectual world, of which the visible was not susceptible. As it was not possible that these worlds should possess the same perfections, God willed that they should have similar. He created time, that moveable image[l] of immoveable eternity;* time, which, incessantly beginning and ending the circle of days and nights, months and years, seems in its

[f] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 96. [g] Id. ibid. p. 94. Bruck. Hist. Phil. t. i. p. 705. [h] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 33. [i] Id. ibid. p. 34. [k] Id. ibid. p. 37. [l] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 97. Plat. in Tim. p. 37. * Rousseau, in his Ode to Prince Eugene, has borrowed this expression from Plato.

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course to know neither beginning nor end, and to measure the duration of the sensible world as eternity measures that of the intellectual; time, in fine, which would have left no traces of its presence, had not visible signs been appointed to distinguish its fugitive parts, and to register, if I may so speak, its motions.[m] With this view the Supreme Being enkindled the Sun,[n] and impelled him with the other planets through the vast solitude of the air, whence that luminary inundates heaven with his splendour, sheds his light on the paths of the planets, and fixes the limits of the year, as the moon determines those of the months. The planets Mercury and Venus, borne along by the sphere over which he presides, continually accompany him in his progress. Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, have also their particular periods, unknown to the vulgar.[o]

And now the Author of all things thus addressed the genii to whom he had confided the government of the stars:[p] "Ye gods, who owe to me your birth, listen to my sovereign commands. You have not a title to immortality, but you may participate in it by the power of my will, more potent than the bonds that unite the parts of which you are composed. It remains to give perfection to this grand whole, to fill with inhabitants the seas, the earth, and the air. Were these creatures to receive life immediately from me, they would be exempt from the empire of death,

[m] Plat. in Tim. p. 38. [n] Id. ibid. p. 39. [o] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 96. Plat. in Tim. p. 39. [p] Plat. ibid. p. 40 et 41.

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and become equal to the gods themselves. I therefore commit to you the care of producing them. Delegates of my power, unite to perishable bodies the germs of immortality which you shall receive from me. Form especially beings, who may command over other animals, and be subject to you. Let them receive birth at your command, live and increase by your bounty; and, after their death, let them be united to you, and share in your happiness."

He said: and immediately pouring into the cup in which he had mixed the soul of the world the remains which he had reserved of that soul, he composed the souls of individual creatures; and adding to those of men a portion of the divine essence,[s] he annexed to them irrevocable destinies.

Then was it decreed that mortals capable of knowing and serving the Divinity should be born; that the man should have pre-eminence over the woman; that justice should consist in triumphing over the passions, and injustice in yielding to them; that the just after death shall pass into the stars, and there enjoy an unalterable felicity; and that the unjust shall be changed into women, or, if they continue unjust, transmigrate into the bodies of different animals, and that they shall not be restored to the primitive dignity of their existence until they shall have become obedient unto the voice of reason.[t]

After these immutable decrees, the Supreme

[s] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 99. [t] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 42.

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Being disseminated souls in the planets; and, having commanded the inferior gods to clothe them successively with mortal bodies, to provide for their wants, and to govern them, he again entered into eternal repose.[u]

Immediately second causes having borrowed from matter particles of the four elements, bound them with invisible bonds,[x] and collected around the souls the different parts of bodies destined to serve them for vehicles to convey them from place to place.[y]

The immortal and rational soul was assigned its place in the brain, in the most elevated part of the body, to regulate its motions.[z] But besides this divine principle, the inferior gods formed a mortal soul, destitute of reason, in which were to reside pleasure which attracts evil, and pain which makes good disappear; audacity and fear, the sources of imprudent actions; anger, so difficult to calm; hope, which so easily seduces, and all the violent passions which are the necessary adjuncts of our nature. This soul occupies in the human body two regions, separated by an intermediate partition. The irascible part, endowed with strength and courage, was placed in the breast, where, situate more near to the immortal soul, it may more distinctly hear the voice of reason, and where besides all things concur to moderate its frantic transports; the air which we respire, the liquids with which we assuage our thirst, and even

[u] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 42. [x] Id. ibid. p. 43. [y] Id. ibid. p. 69. [z] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 99 et 100. Plat. in Tim. p. 69.

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the vessels which distribute the fluids through all the parts of the body. In fact, it is by their means that reason, informed of the efforts of anger as they take birth, awakens all the senses by her menaces and her cries, and forbids them to join in the culpable excesses of the heart, which, in despite of itself, it retains in obedience.[a]

Still farther, and in the region of the stomach, was enchained that other part of the mortal soul which is only occupied by the gross necessities of life; a greedy and ferocious animal, that was placed at a distance from the part in which the immortal soul resides, that it might not disturb its operations by its clamours and its howlings. The immortal part has nevertheless continually preserved its superiority over it, and, unable to govern it by reason, has subjugated it by fear. As it is placed near the liver, the rational and eternal soul paints in this shining and polished viscus the objects most proper to terrify it.[b] It then views in this mirror only frightful and menacing wrinkles and dreadful spectres, which fill it with inquietude and disgust. At other times, to these gloomy prospects succeed more pleasing and lively images; peace reigns around it, and then it is that, during sleep, it foresees remote events. For the inferior gods, commanded to endow us with all the perfections of which we are susceptible, have ordained that this blind and gross proportion of our soul should be enlightened by a ray of truth. This privilege

[a] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 70. [b] Id. ibid. p. 71.

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cannot be bestowed on the immortal soul, since futurity is never unveiled to reason, and only manifested in sleep, during sickness, or in the transports of enthusiasm.[c]

The qualities of matter, the phænomena of nature, the wisdom which especially shines conspicuous in the disposition and uses of the parts of the human body, and various other objects worthy of the greatest attention, would lead me too far; I therefore return to what I at first proposed.

God could create, and has created, only the best of possible worlds,[d] because he worked on a rude and disorderly matter, which incessantly opposed his will with the most stubborn resistance. This opposition still subsists;[e] and hence tempests, earthquakes, and all the revolutions which take place on our globe. The inferior gods, when they formed us, were obliged to employ the same means as the Supreme Divinity;[f] and hence the maladies of the body, and those, still more dangerous, of the soul. All that is good in the universe in general, and in man in particular, proceeds from the Supreme God; and all that is defective in them is to be attributed to the viciousness inherent in matter.[g]

[c] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 71. [d] Id. ibid. p. 30 et 56. Senec. Epist. 65. [e] Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 176. [f] Id. in Tim. t. iii. p. 44. [g] Id ibid. p. 47. et in Politic. t. ii. p. 273.

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CHAPTER LX.

Remarkable Events in Greece and Sicily (from the Year 357 to the Year 354 before Christ).—Expedition of Dion.—Prosecution of the Generals Timotheus and Iphicrates.—End of the Social War.—Beginning of the Sacred War.

I HAVE said above * that Dion, banished from Syracuse by King Dionysius, his nephew, had at length resolved to deliver his country from the yoke under which it groaned. Leaving Athens, he departed for the island Zacynthus, the rendezvous of the troops which he had for some time assembled.

He there found three thousand men, the greater part raised in Peloponnesus, all of tried valour, and regardless of danger.[h] They were yet ignorant of their destination; but when they learned that they were to attack a sovereign defended by a hundred thousand infantry, ten thousand cavalry, four hundred galleys, numerous fortresses, immense riches, and formidable alliances,[i] they only beheld in the projected enterprise the despair of a proscribed exile, who was rashly eager to sacrifice every thing to his revenge. Dion, on the other side, represented to them that they were not to march against the most

* See Chapter XXXIII. [h] Plat. Epist. 7. t. iii. p. 333. Aristot. de Rhetor. c. 9. t. ii. p. 623. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 420. [i] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 413. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 12. Nep. in Dion. c. 5.

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powerful empire in Europe, but the most contemptible and feeble of monarchs.[k] "I am not," added he, "in want of soldiers; those of Dionysius will soon be at my command: I have only selected leaders who may give them examples of courage and lessons of discipline.[l] I am so certain of the success of our enterprise, and the glory which must redound to us from it, that were I to perish in the moment of our arrival at Sicily, I should still esteem myself happy in having conducted you thither."[m]

This harangue had infused new courage into his soldiers, when an eclipse of the moon revived all their former fears;* but these were again dissipated by the firmness of Dion, and the answer of the augur of the army, who, when questioned concerning the omen, answered, that the power of the king of Syracuse was on the point of being eclipsed.[n] The soldiers immediately embarked, to the number of eight hundred,[o] and the remainder of the troops were to follow, under the command of Heraclides. Dion had only two ships of burden, and two lighter vessels, all abundantly provided with arms, warlike stores, and provisions.[p]

This small fleet, which a violent tempest drove toward the coast of Africa, and on rocks where it was in danger of being wrecked, at length arrived at

[k] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 10. t. ii. p. 404. [l] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 967. [m] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 10. t. ii. p. 405.
* This eclipse happened on the 9th of August of the year before Christ 357. See note XVII. at the end of the volume.
[n] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 968. [o] Id. ibid. p. 967. [p] Id. ibid. p. 968.

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the port of Minoa, in the southern part of Sicily. This was a fortress belonging to the Carthaginians. The governor, from friendship to Dion, or perhaps to foment disturbances beneficial to the interest of Carthage, supplied the troops, fatigued by a perilous and difficult voyage, with every necessary. Dion wished to allow them some time to rest; but they, having learned that Dionysius had a few days before embarked for Italy, pressed their general to lead them with all possible expedition to Syracuse.[q]

In the mean time, the report of the arrival of Dion, spreading with rapidity, filled the whole country with hope and fear. Already the inhabitants of Agrigentum, Gela, and Camarina, had come over to him, and those of Syracuse and the neighbouring country resorted to his army in crowds. To five thousand of these he distributed the arms which he had brought from Peloponnesus.[r] The principal inhabitants of the capital, habited in white robes, received him at the gates of the city,[s] which he entered at the head of his troops, who marched in silence, followed by fifty thousand persons, who made the air ring with their shouts.[t] At the sound of the trumpet the clamour ceased, and the herald who preceded him declared Syracuse free, and tyranny destroyed. At these words tears of grateful emotion streamed from every eye, and nothing was heard but a confused mixture of loud shouts and vows addressed

[q] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 969.
[r] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 414.
[s] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 970.
[t] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 415.

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to heaven. The incense of sacrifice smoked in the temples and the streets, and the people, in the excess of their joy and gratitude, prostrated themselves at the feet of Dion, invoking him as a beneficent divinity, and throwing flowers over him. A moment after they fell furiously on the odious race of spies and informers with which the city swarmed, and massacred them without mercy; and these scenes of horror increased the general joy.[u]

Dion continued his dignified progress through the midst of tables spread on each side of the street. When he came to the forum he stopped, and, from an elevated place, addressed the people, to whom he again offered liberty, exhorting them to defend it with fortitude, and conjuring them to place at the head of the republic only such men as should be able to conduct it in circumstances so critical. The people nominated himself and his brother Megacles; but, however illustrious and honourable they esteemed the power with which they were to be invested, they refused to accept it but on condition that twenty of the principal inhabitants of Syracuse, the greater part of whom had been proscribed by Dionysius, should be assigned them as associates.

Some days after, Dionysius, informed too late of the arrival of Dion,[w] returned by sea to Syracuse, and entered the citadel, which was held blocked up by a wall that had been built round it. He immediately sent deputies to Dion,[x] who directed them to address

[u] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 970. [w] Id. ibid. p. 969. Diod. lib. 16. p. 415. [x] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 971.

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themselves to the people. When admitted to the general assembly, they endeavoured to gain its favour by the most flattering offers; such as a diminution of the taxes, and an exemption from military service in all wars undertaken without the consent of the assembly. Dionysius promised every thing, but the people required that the abolition of tyranny should be the first condition of the treaty.

The king, who meditated an act of perfidy, protracted the negotiation, and caused a report to be circulated that he consented to resign his authority.[y] At the same time he sent for the deputies from the people, and having detained them during the whole night, commanded a sally at the break of day. The barbarians who composed the garrison attacked the wall which shut in the citadel, demolished a part of it, and repulsed the troops of Syracuse, who, believing that an accommodation would speedily be concluded, had suffered themselves to be surprised.

Dion, convinced that the fate of his country depended on the event of this day, saw no other resource to encourage the intimidated troops than to carry valour to temerity. He calls them to rush into the midst of their enemies, not with his voice, which it is no longer possible they should hear, but by his example, which fills them with astonishment, and which they hesitate to follow. He singly makes his way through the victorious enemy, numbers of whom

[y] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 971. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 416. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 5. c. 2. § 7.

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fall beneath his sword, but at length is wounded, struck down, and carried off by some Syracusan soldiers, whose returning courage inspires him with new strength. He immediately mounts his horse, collects the fugitives, and with his hand, that had been pierced by a lance, shows them the fatal field in which it must quickly be decided whether they shall pass the remainder of their days in liberty or bondage. A moment after he flies to the camp of the Peloponnesian troops, and brings them up to the combat. The barbarians, exhausted with fatigue, only made a feeble resistance, and fled to conceal their shame in the citadel. The Syracusans distributed a hundred minæ* to each of the foreign soldiers, who unanimously decreed a crown of gold to their general.[z]

Dionysius then perceived that it would be impossible for him to triumph over his enemies unless he could disunite them, and resolved to employ the same artifices to render Dion suspected to the people, which he had formerly made use of to render him odious to them. Hence those whispered rumours which he caused to be spread through Syracuse, those intrigues and suspicions with which he disturbed the peace of families, those insidious negotiations, and that fatal correspondence which he maintained both with Dion and the people. All his letters were communicated to the general assembly. One day one was found with this address: *To my father.* The

* 9000 livres (375*l.*)

[z] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 971.

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Syracusans, who believed it to be from Hipparinus, Dion's son, did not offer to look into it, but Dion opened it himself. Dionysius had foreseen that, should he refuse to read it publicly, it would excite suspicion; and that, if he read it, it must inspire fears. It was in the hand-writing of the king, who had expressed himself in the most artful manner, and insisted much on the reasons which ought to induce Dion to desert the interests of the people. His wife, his son, and his sister, were shut up in the citadel, and on these Dionysius might take cruel vengeance. These indirect menaces were succeeded by complaints and intreaties equally capable of moving a mind of sensibility and generosity. But the most virulent poison was concealed in the following words: "Recollect the zeal with which formerly, while you were with me, you supported tyranny. Far from restoring liberty to men who must hate you, because they remember the evils of which you have been the author and the instrument, keep in your own hands the power which they have confided to you, and which alone can insure your security and that of your family and your friends."[a]

Dionysius could not have derived more advantage from the gaining of a battle than he did from this letter. Dion appeared to the people as under the most unavoidable necessity to keep measures with, or to restore, the tyrant. From that moment he might

[a] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 972. Polyæn. lib. 5. c. 2. § 8.

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have foreseen the loss of his influence, for when once confidence is injured, it is soon destroyed.

In the mean time arrived, under the conduct of Heraclides, the second division of the troops from Peloponnesus. Heraclides, who enjoyed great credit at Syracuse,[b] seemed only destined to increase the troubles of a state. His ambition formed projects which his fickleness never permitted him to carry into execution. He betrayed all parties without effecting the triumph of that which he espoused, and was only successful in multiplying intrigues useless to his designs. Under the tyrants, he had filled with distinction the first offices in the army. He had afterwards joined, deserted, and again returned to Dion. He possessed neither the virtues nor the abilities of that great man, but he surpassed him in the arts of pleasing and gaining friends.[c] Dion repulsed those who approached him by a cold reception, and the severity of his manners and his mind. His friends ineffectually exhorted him to become more affable and accessible, and Plato in vain told him in his letters, that to be useful to men, it was necessary to begin by being agreeable to them.[d] Heraclides, more easy and indulgent, because nothing was sacred in his esteem, corrupted the orators by his presents, and the multitude by his flatteries. The people had already resolved to throw themselves into his arms, and at the first meeting of the assembly the command of the

[b] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 419. [c] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 972.
[d] Plat. Epist. 4. t. iii. p. 321.

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fleet was conferred upon him. Dion, arriving in the moment, represented that the new office was a dismemberment of his own authority, obtained the revocation of the decree, and afterwards caused it to be confirmed in a more regular assembly, which he took care to convoke. He was besides desirous to add several new prerogatives to the office of his rival, and contented himself with making remonstrances to him in private.[e]

Heraclides affected to appear sensible of this generous procedure. Assiduous, and even crouching to Dion, he observed, anticipated, and executed his commands, apparently with all the eagerness of gratitude, while by secret intrigues he created invincible obstacles to his designs. If Dion proposed an accommodation with Dionysius, suspicions were spread that he secretly maintained a good understanding with the tyrant; and if he made no such proposal, it was said that he wished to continue the war as long as possible to perpetuate his own authority.[f]

These absurd accusations were urged with still more force after the fleet of the Syracusans had defeated that of the king, commanded by Philistus.* The galley of that general having been driven on shore, he had the misfortune to fall into the hands of an irritated populace, who, before they put him to death, treated him with the utmost barbarity, and dragged him ignominiously through the streets.[g]

[e] Plut. in Dion t. i. p. 972. [f] Plut. ibid. p. 973.
* Under the archonship of Elpines, in the year before Christ 355-6. Diod. p. 419. [g] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 974. Diod. ibid.

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Dionysius himself, had he been taken, would have undergone the same fate. He therefore, seeing he had no longer any resource, gave up the citadel to his son Apollocrates, and found means to escape into Italy with his wives and treasures. Heraclides, who, in quality of admiral, should have prevented his flight, seeing the inhabitants of Syracuse enraged against him, had the address to turn the storm on Dion, by suddenly proposing a division of the lands.[h]

This proposition, the eternal source of dissensions in many republican states, was received with avidity by the multitude, who no longer circumscribed their claims by any bounds. The opposition of Dion occasioned a revolt, and in an instant obliterated the memory of his services. It was determined that they should immediately proceed to a division of the lands, that the Peloponnesian troops should be dismissed, and that the administration of affairs should be confided to twenty-five new magistrates, of whom Heraclides should be one.[i]

Nothing was now thought of but to depose and condemn Dion. As the adverse party, however, greatly feared the foreign troops he had with him, attempts were made to seduce them by the most splendid offers; but those brave warriors, who had been treated with insult by being deprived of their pay, and still more by being thus supposed capable of treachery, placed their general in the midst of them, and passed through the city, pursued and pressed by all the peo-

[h] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 974. [i] Id. ibid. p. 975.

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ple, to whose outrages they only answered by reproaches for their ingratitude and their perfidy, while Dion, to pacify them, had recourse to intreaties and every mark of tenderness and affection. The Syracusans, ashamed that they had suffered him to escape, sent after him, to harass his retreat, troops who took to flight the moment he gave the signal to attack them.

He retired to the territories of the Leontines,[k] who not only considered it as an honour done to themselves to admit him and his brave companions into the number of their fellow-citizens, but by a noble generosity, resolved to procure him a signal satisfaction. After having sent ambassadors to Syracuse, to complain of the injustice with which the deliverers of Sicily had been treated, and received deputies from that city, appointed to accuse Dion, they convoked their allies, the cause was discussed in the assembly, and the conduct of the Syracusans unanimously condemned.

Far from acknowledging the justice of this sentence, the people of Syracuse congratulated themselves on having at once shaken off the yoke of two tyrants by whom they had successively been oppressed; and their joy was still more increased by some advantages gained over the ships of Dionysius, which came to bring a supply of provisions for the citadel, and to throw into it some troops commanded by Nypsius of Neapolis.[l]

That able general, however, believed that the

[k] Plut. in Dion. tom. i. p. 975. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 420.
[l] Plut. ibid. p. 976. Diod. ibid.

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time to subdue the rebels was at length arrived. Encouraged by their late trivial success, the insolence of the Syracusans no longer submitted to any restraint, but had broken every bond of subordination and decency. Their days were passed in the excesses of the table, and their leaders suffered themselves to be hurried away by a licentiousness which they could no longer check. Nypsius sallied from the citadel, threw down the wall by which it had been a second time surrounded, made himself master of one quarter of the city, and gave it up to pillage. The troops of Syracuse were repulsed, the inhabitants massacred, and their wives and children loaded with chains, and led prisoners to the citadel. The assembly immediately met, and deliberated in tumult. Terror had frozen every mind, and despair no longer found any resource. At this moment some voices were heard which proposed the recal of Dion and his army. The people immediately demanded him with loud exclamations: "Let him come," said they; "may the gods restore him to us, that he may once more inspire us with new courage!" [m]

The deputies appointed to make known to Dion the wishes of the people were so expeditious, that they arrived on the same day in the territories of the Leontines. They fell at the feet of Dion, bathed in tears, and moved his compassion by a lively description of the calamities which his country suffered. When introduced to the assembly of the Leontines, the two

[m] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 976. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 422.

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principal ambassadors conjured the people to save a city but too deserving both of their hatred and their pity.

When they had ended, a mournful silence reigned in the assembly. Dion attempted to speak, but tears interrupted his words. At length, encouraged by his troops, who participated in his grief, he thus addressed them: "Warriors of Peloponnesus, and you faithful allies, it is for you to deliberate on what regards yourselves; I, for my part, have not the liberty of choice. Immediate destruction menaces Syracuse, and it is my duty to save her, or bury myself beneath her ruins. I place myself among the number of her deputies; and I add, we have been the most imprudent, and we now are the most unfortunate, of men. If you are moved at our remorse, hasten to succour a city which you have once saved: if you can only fix your attention on our injustice, may the gods at least recompense the zeal and fidelity of which you have given me such affecting proofs! and never may you forget that Dion, who forsook not you when his country was in fault, and never will abandon his country when she is unfortunate."

He was about to continue, but all the soldiers, with the liveliest emotion, exclaimed with one voice: "Place yourself at our head, and let us fly to deliver Syracuse." The ambassadors, overcome with joy and gratitude, threw themselves on their necks, and invoked a thousand blessings on Dion, who only gave his troops time to take a slight repast.[n]

[n] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 977.

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Scarcely had he begun his march, when he was met by other deputies, some of whom pressed him to hasten, and others to defer his return. The former spoke in the name of the wisest and best part of the citizens; the latter were the agents of the opposite faction. The enemy having retired, the orators had again appeared, and sowed dissension in the mind of the people; a part of whom, induced by their clamours, had resolved to owe their liberty only to themselves, and to seize on the gates of the city, to exclude all foreign succour; while, on the other side, the more sensible citizens, terrified at such foolish presumption, used all their efforts to confirm the recal of the Peloponnesian soldiers.[o] Dion did not think it proper either to suspend or hasten his march. He advanced slowly towards Syracuse, and was only at the distance of sixty stadia,* when couriers successively arrived from all parties and all ranks of the citizens, even Heraclides himself, his most implacable enemy. The besieged had made a new sally: and while some completed the destruction of the wall of circumvallation, others, like raging tigers, attacked the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex; while others, to form an impenetrable barrier against the foreign troops, threw fire-brands and flaming darts on the houses contiguous to the citadel.[p]

At this news Dion hastened to the citadel with all possible speed. Already he perceived the flames and clouds of smoke which rose in the air, and heard the

[o] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 977. * About two leagues and a quarter. [p] Id. ibid.

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insolent shouts of the victors, and the lamentable cries of the inhabitants. He arrived, the people fell at his feet, and the enemy, in astonishment, drew up in order of battle at the foot of the citadel.[q] They chose this post that they might be defended by the almost inaccessible ruins of the wall they had destroyed, and still more by that terrible rampart of fire which their fury had enkindled.

While the Syracusans lavished on their general the same acclamations and the same titles of Saviour and God with which they had received him on his first triumph, his troops divided into columns, and animated by his example, advanced in good order through the burning ashes, the flaming timbers, and the blood and dead bodies with which the squares and streets were filled; and through the dreadful darkness of a thick smoke, by the still more dreadful light of devouring fires, and amid the ruins of houses which fell with a fearful crash on every side of them. When arrived at the last intrenchment, they passed it with the same courage, notwithstanding the obstinate and ferocious resistance of the soldiers of Nypsius, who were cut in pieces, or obliged to shut themselves up in the citadel.

On the day following, the inhabitants, after having stopped the progress of the conflagration, found themselves in profound tranquillity. The orators and other heads of the factions had fled from the city into voluntary banishment, except Heraclides,

[q] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 978.

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and Theodotus, his uncle, who were too well acquainted with Dion not to know that his anger would easily be disarmed by a confession of their fault. The friends of the latter warmly represented to him that he would never be able to root out the spirit of sedition, a still worse evil than tyranny, from the state, if he refused to give up these two criminals to the soldiers, who loudly demanded their punishment: but Dion mildly replied: "Other generals pass their lives in martial labours to obtain success, which they frequently owe only to chance. Educated in the school of Plato, I have learned to triumph over my passions; and to ensure a victory which I may attribute to myself alone, I must pardon and forget offences. Because Heraclides has debased his soul by his perfidies and wickedness, must mine be defiled by anger and revenge? I seek not to excel him in power or abilities: I wish to vanquish him by my virtues, and to recal him to his duty by my benefactions."[r]

In the mean time he blocked the citadel so closely, that the garrison, being in want of provisions, could no longer be made to obey any discipline. Apollocrates, obliged to capitulate, obtained permission to depart with his mother, his sister, and his effects, which he carried away in five galleys. The people ran to the sea-side to view the pleasing sight, and enjoy the glorious day on which liberty was at length restored to Syracuse, the last remains of her

[r] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 978.

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oppressors expelled, and the most powerful of tyrannies entirely destroyed.[s]

Apollocrates proceeded to join his father Dionysius, who was then in Italy. After his departure, Dion entered the citadel, where Aristomache his sister, and Hipparinus his son, met him, and received his first embraces. Arete followed them, trembling, transfixed with grief, and wishing, yet fearing, to lift up to him her eyes suffused with tears, when Aristomache, taking her by the hand, thus addressed her brother: "How shall it be possible to express all that we have suffered during your absence? Your return and your victories at length permit us to respire. But, alas! my daughter, compelled at the expense of her own happiness and mine to enter into a new union, is wretched amid the universal joy. In what manner will you view the fatal necessity to which the cruelty of the tyrant has reduced her? Shall she salute you as her uncle or her husband?" Dion, unable to restrain his tears, tenderly embraced his wife, and, having committed his son to her care, entreated her to share with him the humble habitation he had chosen, for he would not dwell in the palace of kings.[t]

It is not my design to write the panegyric of Dion; I mean simply to relate some of his actions: and though the interesting facts of the narrative in which I have engaged may have perhaps led me too far, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of following, to the

[s] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 980. Demoeth. in Leptin. 565.
[t] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 980.

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close of his days, a man who, placed in every different condition and situation, was ever as unlike to others as he was similar to himself, and whose life would furnish the noblest materials for the history of virtue.

After so many triumphs, he wished to acquit himself in public and in private, of what he owed to the companions of his labours, and the citizens who had assisted in effecting the revolution. With some he shared his glory, with others his riches. Simple and modest in his dress, and frugal and plain in his diet, he was only magnificent in the exercise of his generosity. While he enforced the admiration, not only of Sicily, but of Carthage and all Greece; while Plato told him that the eyes of the whole world were fixed on him;[u] he was only attentive to that number of enlightened spectators, who, disregarding his exploits and his success, waited to observe him in the moment of prosperity, to bestow on him their esteem or their contempt.[x]

In his time, in fact, the philosophers had conceived the project of seriously labouring for the reformation of the human race. With this view they had undertaken to form the mind of the Younger Dionysius, who had disappointed their hopes.—Dion had afterwards again revived them, and several disciples of Plato had followed him in his expedition.[y] From their ideas, and his own experience, with the assistance of some Corinthians, whom he

[u] Plat. Epist. 4. t. iii. p. 320. [x] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 981.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 967.

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had induced to come to Syracuse, he traced the plan of a republic, which should conciliate all powers and all interests. He gave the preference to a mixt government, in which the class of the principal citizens should counterbalance the power of the sovereign and that of the people. He even wished that the people should not be called on to vote, except on certain occasions, as was practised at Corinth.[z]

He dared not, however, attempt to carry his project into execution, because he foresaw his designs must be opposed by an almost invincible obstacle. Heraclides, since their reconciliation, had never ceased to perplex him by open or secret intrigues; and, as he was the idol of the multitude, it could not be expected that he would favour a project which would destroy the democracy. The partisans of Dion proposed to him more than once to rid himself of this restless and turbulent man. He had always refused to give his consent to this, but it was at length forced from him by importunity.[a] The Syracusans immediately rose, and though he appeased them, they were highly incensed at an action which circumstances might seem to justify in the eyes of the politician, but which filled his soul with remorse, and overclouded with melancholy the remainder of his days.

Delivered from this enemy, he soon found another more perfidious and more dangerous. During his

[z] Plat. Ep. 7. t. iii. p. 335. Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 981. [a] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 981. Nep. in Dion. c. 6.

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stay in Athens, an Athenian, named Callippus,* received him into his house, obtained his friendship, of which he was unworthy,[b] and followed him into Sicily. Promoted to the first military offices, he justified the choice of his general, and gained the confidence of the troops.

After the death of Heraclides, he perceived that it would cost him but one atrocious action to render himself master of Sicily. The multitude were in need of a chief who would flatter them in their caprices. They feared more and more lest Dion should despoil them of their authority, to vest it in himself, or bestow it on the class of rich citizens. Among people of understanding, the politicians conjectured that he would not always be able to resist the allurements of a crown,[c] and imputed to him their suspicions as a crime. The greater part of those warriors whom he had brought from Peloponnesus, and whom honour had attached to his service, had fallen in battle.[d]— In fine, all minds, fatigued with their own inaction and his virtues, regretted the licentiousness and the factions in which they had so long been engaged.

On this situation of affairs Callippus founded his insidious machinations. He began by informing Dion of the true or supposed murmurs which the troops, he said, sometimes suffered to escape them; and even procured himself to be commissioned to sound their dispositions and intentions. He then

* Cornelius Nepos calls him Callicrates. T. [b] Plat. Ep. 7. t. iii. p. 333 et 334. Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 981. [c] Plut. in Brut. p. 1010. [d] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 981.

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insinuated himself into the good opinion of the soldiers, fomented their discontents, and communicated his views to those who favoured his advances; while they who rejected them with indignation in vain apprised their general of the secret practices of Callippus; he only saw in his conduct the assiduity and zeal of a faithful friend.[e]

The conspiracy made greater progress every day; but Dion would not deign to bestow on it the least attention. He was at length induced to pay some regard to the notices he received from every quarter, and which for some time had alarmed his family; but tormented with the remembrance of the death of Heraclides, ever present to his mind, he declared that he would rather choose to die a thousand times, than to be incessantly taking precautions against his friends and his enemies.[f]

In the choice of the former he was not sufficiently careful;[g] and when he was convinced that the greater part of those he had supposed his friends were men of base and corrupt minds, he made no use of the discovery; either because he could not believe them capable of such an excess of villany,[h] or because he thought he ought to resign himself to his fate. He then no doubt was an instance, that it is possible for virtue itself to be discouraged by the injustice and wickedness of men.

In the mean time his wife and sister assiduously

[e] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 982. Nep. ibid. c. 8. [f] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 982. [g] Plat. Epist. 7. p. 333. [h] Id. ibid. p. 351.

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investigated the traces of the conspiracy; which Callippus knowing, he presented himself before them, shedding a flood of tears, and, to persuade them that he was innocent, offered to submit to the most rigorous test. They required from him the great oath. This alone can inspire the hardened villain with terror. He, however, immediately consented to take it, and was conducted into the subterranean recesses of the temple of Ceres and Proserpine. There, after the sacrifices prescribed on such occasions, habited in the robe of one of those goddesses, and holding a lighted torch, he called on them to witness his innocence, and pronounced the most horrible imprecations against himself, should he be perjured. The ceremony ended, he proceeded to prepare every thing for the execution of his project.[1]

He chose for it the day of the festival of Proserpine; and having ascertained that Dion had not left his house, he put himself at the head of some soldiers from the island of Zacynthus,[k] some of whom surrounded the house, while others forced their way into an apartment on the ground floor, in which Dion was, with several of his friends, who dared not risk their lives to preserve his. The conspirators, who had come without arms, threw themselves on him, and long tortured him in attempting to strangle him; but as he still breathed, some of those without threw a dagger in at the window, with which the assassins

[1] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 982. Nep. ibid. c. 8. [k] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 432.

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immediately stabbed him to the heart.[l]* Some pretend that Callippus had drawn his sword, but could not prevail on himself to strike his benefactor.[m] Thus died Dion, aged about fifty-five years, in the fourth year after his return into Sicily.[n]

His death produced a sudden change at Syracuse. The inhabitants, who began to detest him as a tyrant, now lamented him as the author of their liberty. His funerals were celebrated at the expense of the public treasury, and his tomb was erected in the most conspicuous place in the city.[o]

Yet, excepting a slight tumult, in which some blood was shed, though not that of the guilty, no person dared to attack the assassins,[p] and Callippus peaceably reaped the fruit of his crime. A short time after, the friends of Dion united to revenge his death, but were overpowered. Callippus, defeated in his turn by Hipparinus, the brother of Dionysius,[q] and every where hated and expelled, was constrained to take refuge in Italy, with a remnant of banditti who followed his fortunes, and at length perished miserably, thirteen months after the death of Dion, having been, as is pretended, stabbed with the same dagger which had deprived that great man of life.[r]

While the people of Sicily were labouring to destroy tyranny, Athens, which boasts so much of her love of liberty, exhausted herself in vain efforts to

[l] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 983. Nep. ibid. c. 9 * The year 353 before Christ. [m] Plat. Epist. 7. t. iii. p. 334. [n] Nep. n Dion. c. 10. [o] Id. ibid. [p] Plut. in Brut. t. i. p. 1011. [q] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 346. [r] Plut. in Dion. p. 983.

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bring again under the yoke the states which for some years past had detached themselves from her alliance.* She resolved to seize on Byzantium, and, with this view, dispatched a hundred and twenty galleys under the command of Timotheus, Iphicrates, and Chares, who sailed to the Hellespont, where the fleet of the enemy, nearly of equal force, soon after arrived. On each side preparations were made for battle, when a violent tempest arose. Chares nevertheless proposed to begin the attack; and as the two other generals, more able and prudent, were of a different opinion, he openly accused them to the army, and seized this opportunity to effect their ruin. The people of Athens, when they heard the letters read in which he charged them with treachery, were inflamed with anger, immediately recalled them, and ordered a prosecution to be commenced against them.[s]

The victories of Timotheus, seventy-five cities which he had united to the republic,[t] the honours which had formerly been paid him, his old age, nor even the justice of his cause, could not all save him from the partiality of his judges. He was condemned to pay a fine of a hundred talents,† and retired to the city of Chalcis in Eubœa,[u] filled with indignation against his fellow-citizens, whom he had so often enriched by his conquests, and who after his death manifested a repentance equally late and fruitless.[x] He paid on this occasion the tax of the

* See Chap. XXIII. [s] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 424.
[t] Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 406. † 540,000 livres (22,500*l.*)
[u] Nep. in Timoth. c. 3. [x] Id. ibid. c. 4.

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contempt which he had always entertained for Chares. One day, at the election of generals, some mercenary orators, to exclude Iphicrates and Timotheus, highly extolled Chares, to whom they attributed the qualities of a robust athleta. He is, said they, in the vigour of life, and capable of supporting the heaviest fatigues. "Such a man is proper for the army." — "No doubt," said Timotheus, "to carry the baggage." [y]

The condemnation of Timotheus did not appease the fury of the Athenians; nor could it intimidate Iphicrates, who defended himself with intrepidity. The military expression was remarked by which he turned the attention of his judges to the conduct of the general who had plotted his destruction. "My subject hurries me on," said he; "I must open myself a way through the actions of Chares." [z] In the course of his defence he apostrophised the orator Aristophon, who had accused him of having suffered himself to be corrupted by a bribe. "Answer me," said he, with a tone of authority; "would you have been guilty of so infamous an action?" "I certainly should not," replied the orator. "And can you suppose," answered he, "that Iphicrates can have done what Aristophon would not have been base enough to do?" [a]

To the resources of eloquence he added another, the success of which appeared to him less uncertain.

[y] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 187. Id. an Seni. &c. t. ii. p. 788.
[z] Aristot. de Rhetor. lib. 3. c. 10. t. ii. p. 595. [a] Id. ibid. lib. 2. c. 23. t. ii. p. 575.

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The tribunal was surrounded by several young officers attached to his interests; and he himself let his judges sometimes see a dagger which he wore under his robe. He was acquitted,[b] and served no more. When some persons remonstrated to him on the violence by which he thus overawed justice, he replied: "I have long borne arms for the safety of my country, and I should be simple indeed if I did not have recourse to them for my own security."[c]

Chares however did not proceed to Byzantium. Under the pretext that he was in want of provisions,[d] he entered with his army into the pay of the satrap Artabazus, who had revolted against Artaxerxes king of Persia, and who was on the point of being overpowered by forces superior to his own.[e] The arrival of the Athenians changed the face of affairs. The arms of Artaxerxes was defeated, and Chares immediately wrote to the people of Athens that he had obtained over the Persians a victory no less glorious than that of Marathon.[f] But this news only occasioned a transient joy. The Athenians, terrified at the complaints and menaces of the king of Persia, recalled their general, and hastened to offer peace and independence to the cities which had thrown off their yoke.[g] Thus terminated this war,* equally

[b] Nep. in Iphicr. c. 3. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 3. c. 9. No. 29. [c] Polyæn. ibid. [d] Demosth. in Phil. t. i. p. 50. [e] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 434. [f] Plut. in Arat. t. i. p. 1034. [g] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 424. * Under the archonship of Elpines, which corresponds with the years 356 and 355 before Christ.

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fatal to both parties. On the one side, several of the confederated states, exhausted of men and money, were obliged to submit to the power of Mausolus king of Caria;[h] and on the other, Athens, besides being deprived of the succours she derived from their alliance, lost three of her best generals, Chabrias, Timotheus, and Iphicrates.[i] Immediately after, another war began,* which became general; and, to the misfortune of Greece, displayed the great abilities of Philip of Macedon.

The Amphictyons, whose principal office is to watch over the interests of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, having assembled, the Thebans, who, in concert with the Thessalians, direct the proceedings of that tribunal, accused the Phocians of having seized on some lands which appertained to the god, and procured them to be condemned to pay a heavy fine.[k] The accusers were impelled by the spirit of revenge. The Thessalians still blushed at the victories which the Phocians had formerly gained over them.[l] Besides the motives of rivalry which always subsist between neighbouring nations, the city of Thebes was indignant at not having been able to force an inhabitant of Phocis to restore a Theban woman whom he had carried off.[m]

The first decree was immediately followed by a second, which consecrated to the god the lands of

[h] Demosth. de Rhod. Libert. p. 144. [i] Nep. in Timoth. c. 4. * Under the archonship of Agathocles, the year 354 before Christ. [k] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 425. [l] Pausan. lib. 10. c. i. p. 799. [m] Duris, ap Athen. lib. 13. c. 1. p. 560.

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the Phocians. It besides authorised the Amphyctyonic league to take vengeance on the cities which had till then neglected to obey the decrees of the tribunal. This latter clause had reference to the Lacedæmonians, against whom a decree had been passed several years since, which had not yet been carried into execution." [n]

In any other circumstances, the Phocians would have feared to brave the danger by which they were menaced. But it was then seen how much great revolutions sometimes depend on trifling causes.[o] A short time before two individuals of Phocis, each wishing to obtain a rich heiress for his son, interested the whole nation in their quarrel, and formed two parties, which, in all public deliberations, listened only to the voice of mutual hatred. Therefore, no sooner had some Phocians proposed to submit to the decrees of the Amphyctyons, than Philomelus, whose riches and abilities had placed him at the head of the opposite faction, loudly exclaimed, that to give way to injustice was the most flagrant and pernicious of all acts of cowardice; that the Phocians had legitimate claims, not only to the lands which it had been made a crime in them to cultivate, but to the temple of Delphi itself; and that he only asked their confidence in him, to preserve them from the ignominious chastisement decreed against them by the tribunal of the Amphictyons.[p]

[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 425 et 430. [o] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 4. t. ii. p. 390. Duris. ap. Athen. lib. 13. p. 560. [p] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 425. Pausan. lib. 10. c. 2. p. 802.

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His rapid eloquence had its full effect on the Phocians. Invested with absolute power, he flew to Lacedæmon, prevailed on king Archidamus to approve his projects, and obtained from him fifteen talents, which, added to fifteen others that he advanced himself, enabled him to take into pay a great number of mercenaries, to seize on the temple, surround it with a wall, and tear down from the columns the defamatory decrees which the Amphictyons had enacted against the states accused of sacrilege. The Locrians in vain hastened to the defence of the sacred place; they were put to flight, and their ravaged country enriched the conquerors.[q] The war lasted ten years and some months:[r] in the continuation of this work, I shall relate the principal events which happened in that time.

[q] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 426. [r] Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 415. Id. in Ctesiph. p. 452. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 418 et 455. Pausan. lib. 9. p. 724. Id. lib. 10. p. 802.

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CHAPTER LXI.

Letters on the general Affairs of Greece, addressed to Anacharsis and Philotas, during their Travels in Egypt and Persia.

DURING my stay in Greece, I had so often heard speak of Egypt and Persia, that I could no longer resist my desire to visit those two kingdoms: Apollodorus had assigned me Philotas to accompany me in my journey, and had promised to inform us of all that passed while we were absent. Others of our friends made us the same promise. Their letters, which I shall here give, sometimes entire, and sometimes by extracts, were on some occasions only a simple journal, and on others accompanied by reflexions.

We set out at the end of the second year of the 106th Olympiad.* The south of Greece then enjoyed profound tranquillity, but the north was disturbed by the war of the Phocians and the enterprizes of Philip king of Macedon.

Philomelus, the leader of the Phocians, had fortified himself at Delphi. He sent off ambassadors on every side, but no person could have imagined that such apparently unimportant disputes would ultimately be the occasion of the ruin of Greece, which

* In the spring of the year 354 before Christ.

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a hundred and twenty-six years before had resisted the whole power of Persia.

Philip was engaged in frequent quarrels with the Thracians, Illyrians, and other barbarous nations. He meditated the conquest of the Grecian cities situate on the frontiers of his kingdom, and of which the greater part were allied or tributary to the Athenians. The latter people, offended that he had kept possession of Amphipolis, which had belonged to them, attempted some hostilities against him, but dared not proceed to an open rupture.

DIOTIMUS BEING ARCHON AT ATHENS.

The 3d year of the 106th Olympiad.

(*From the 26th of June of the year 354, to the 14th of July of the year 353 before Christ.*)

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

GREECE is full of dissensions.[s] Some condemn the enterprise of Philomelus, and others vindicate it. The Thebans, with the whole body of the Bœotians, the Locrians, and the different nations of Thessaly, having all private injuries to revenge, threaten to take vengeance for the insult offered to the god of Delphi. The Athenians, the Lacedæmonians, and some cities of Peloponnesus, have declared for the Phocians, from hatred to the Thebans.

Philomelus at first protested that he would not

[s] Diod. lib. 16. p. 430.

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touch the treasures of the temple;[t] but, terrified at the preparations of the Thebans, he has seized on a part of those riches, which has enabled him to increase the pay of the mercenaries, who from every side hasten to Delphi. He has successively defeated the Locrians, the Bœotians, and the Thessalians.

Some days since the army of the Phocians having entered a close country, unexpectedly met with that of the Bœotians, superior in numbers, and the latter gained a complete victory. Philomelus, covered with wounds, repulsed to an eminence, and surrounded on all sides, chose rather to throw himself from the top of a rock than to fall into the hands of his enemies.[u]

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF EUDEMUS.

The 4th year of the 106th Olympiad.

(From the 14th of July of the year 353, to the 3d of July of the year 352 before Christ.)

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

In the last assembly of the Phocians, the persons of most sense advised peace; but Onomarchus, who had collected the shattered remains of the army, so effectually employed his eloquence and influence that it has been determined to continue the war, and to confide to him the same power as Philomelus possessed. He is employed in raising new troops. The

[t] Diod. lib. 16. p. 429 et 431. [u] Id. ibid. p. 432. Pausan. lib. 10. c. 2. p. 802.

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gold and silver taken from the sacred treasury have been converted into money, and many of the statues of brass at Delphi into helmets and swords.[x]

A report has prevailed that Artaxerxes, king of Persia, was preparing to turn his arms against Greece. Nothing was talked of but his immense preparations. It was said that not less than twelve hundred camels would be necessary to carry the gold intended for the pay of the troops.[y]

The assembly met tumultuously. In the midst of the public alarm, some persons proposed to call on all the Grecian states, and even the king of Macedonia,[z] to unite for the general defence of Greece; to anticipate Artaxerxes, and to carry the war into his dominions. Demosthenes, who, after having distinguished himself in his pleadings in the courts of justice, has lately taken an active part in public affairs, spoke in opposition to this proposal; but he strongly insisted on the necessity of putting ourselves in a state of defence. He has foreseen and provided for every thing; stated what number of ships, what infantry, and what cavalry will be necessary, and in what manner the requisite supplies may be raised. The discernment of the orator has been greatly applauded. In fact, such prudent measures will be of the highest utility to us against Artaxerxes, should he invade Greece, and against our present enemies, should he have no such design.[a] It has been since known that the king

[x] Diod. lib. 16. p. 433. [y] Demosth. de Class. p. 136.
[z] Lit. Phil. ap. Demosth. p. 114. [a] Demosth. de Rhod. p. 114.

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of Persia had no thoughts of attacking us, and we have no longer thought seriously of any thing.

I know not how to accustom myself to these periodical excesses of despondence and confidence; we pass in a moment from despair to exultation. An individual who never acquires experience by his errors is deservedly abandoned to his folly; but in what light must we view a whole nation which, solely occupied by the present, bestows not a thought on either the past or future, and which forgets its fears, as a flash of lightning or peal of thunder is forgotten when it is past. The greater part of the people of Athens speak of the king of Persia with dread, and of the king of Macedon with contempt.[b] They do not observe that the latter prince has not failed for some time to take every opportunity to make incursions into our territories; that he has seized on our islands of Imbros and Lemnos; that he has loaded with chains such of our citizens as had settled on those countries; that he has taken several of our ships on the coasts of Eubœa; and that still more recently he has made a descent on Attica, at Marathon, and carried off the sacred galley.[c] This insult, offered to us at the very place which was formerly the scene of our glory, has made us blush; but with us the colour of shame soon disappears.

Philip is continually present every where. No sooner had he quitted our shores than he flew to the maritime parts of Thrace, took the fortress of Methone, demolished it, and distributed the fertile fields around it to his soldiers, of whom he is the idol.

[b] Demosth. de Rhod. p. 147. [c] Id. in Phil. 1. p. 52.

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During the siege of that city, he swam over the river.[d] An arrow shot by an archer, or from a machine, struck him in the right eye;[e] and, notwithstanding the extreme pain he must have suffered, he regained the bank from which he had swimmed. His physician Critobulus has extracted the arrow with great skill;[f] the eye is not disfigured, but it is deprived of sight.*

This accident has diminished his ardour; he is now besieging the fortress of Heræa, to which we have just claims. Athens is in commotion, and the general assembly has passed a decree to raise a contribution of sixty talents,† fit out forty galleys, and enrol those who have not attained their forty-fifth year.[g]‡ These preparations require time; the winter approaches, and the expedition must be deferred till the ensuing summer.

In the midst of the alarm occasioned by the projects of the Persian monarch, and the enterprises of the king of Macedon, ambassadors arrived from the king of Lacedæmon, and others at the same time from the Megalopolitans, whose city he has besieged. Archidamus proposed to us to join the Lacedæmonians, and restore the cities of Greece to the situation in

[d] Callisth. ap. Plut. in Parall. t. ii. p. 307. [e] Strab. lib. 7. p. 330; lib. 8. p. 374. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 434. Justin. lib. 7. c. 6. [f] Plin. lib. 7. c. 37. p. 395. * A parasite who followed Philip, named Clidemus, after that prince was wounded appeared with a plaster on his eye. (Ælian. Hist. Anim. lib. 9. c. 7.) † 324,000 livres (13,500*l.*) [g] Demosth. Olynth. 3. p. 35. ‡ Towards the month of October, in the year 353 before Christ.

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which they were before the late wars. All usurpations and encroachments were to be given back, and all new settlements destroyed. The Thebans have taken from us Oropus; they were to be forced to restore it: they have razed Thespiæ and Platæa; they should be rebuilt: they have founded Megalopolis in Arcadia, to restrain the incursions of the Lacedæmonians; it should be demolished. The orators and citizens were divided in their opinions. Demosthenes[h] clearly showed that the execution of this project would indeed weaken the Thebans our enemies, but must increase the power of the Lacedæmonians our allies, and that our safety depended entirely on our being able to maintain a proper balance between those two republics. Both parties have united to support his opinion with their suffrages.

In the mean time, the Phocians have furnished the Lacedæmonians with troops, and the Thebans and other states have sent assistance to the Megalopolitans. Many battles have already been fought, and after much bloodshed, peace will soon be concluded.[i]

The war in the northern provinces of Greece has not been less murderous and destructive. The Phocians, Bœotians, and Thessalians, by turns conquerors and conquered, continue a contest which religion and national jealousy render extremely cruel. An incident that has lately happened presents but a melancholy prospect. Lycophron, tyrant of Pheræ in Thes-

[h] Demosth. pro Megalop. p. 154. [i] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 438.

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saly, has entered into a league with the Phocians to subjugate the Thessalians. The latter have implored the assistance of Philip, who has immediately hastened to their succour. After some indecisive actions, two successive defeats have obliged him to retire into Macedonia. It was imagined that he was reduced to the last extremity, and his soldiers began to desert, when, on a sudden, he again appeared in Thessaly. His troops, and those of the Thessalians his allies, amounted to more than twenty-three thousand foot, and three thousand horse. Onomarchus, at the head of twenty thousand foot, and three hundred horse, had joined Lycophron. The Phocians, after an obstinate resistance, have been defeated, and driven towards the sea-shore, from which was seen at a distance the fleet of the Athenians, commanded by Chares. The greater part of the fugitives, having thrown themselves into the sea to swim to the Athenian ships, perished, with Onomarchus their general, whose body Philip caused to be hung on a gibbet. The loss of the Phocians is very considerable; six thousand were slain in the battle, and three thousand, who had surrendered prisoners at discretion, have been thrown into the sea as wretches guilty of sacrilege.[k]

The Thessalians, by joining with Philip, have thrown down the barrier which obstructed the progress of his ambition. For some years, he had suffered the Greeks to enfeeble each other, and from his throne, as from a watch tower,[l] had waited the moment when

[k] Diod. lib. 16. p. 435. Pausan. lib. 10. c. 2. p. 802. [l] Justin. lib. 8. c. 1.

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some one of the contending parties should solicit his assistance. He is now authorised to interfere in the affairs of Greece. Every where the multitude, unable to penetrate his intentions, believe him inflamed with a zeal for religion; on every side, they exclaim that he has owed his victory to the sanctity of the cause which he supported, and that the gods have chosen him to avenge the insult offered to their altars. He had himself foreseen the advantages to be derived from such an opinion; and, before the battle, had commanded his soldiers to crown themselves with laurels, as if he marched to the attack in the name of the divinity of Delphi, to whom that tree is consecrated.[m]

Intentions so pure, and success so splendid, have exalted the admiration of the Greeks to enthusiasm. We hear of nothing but this prince, his extraordinary abilities and exemplary virtues. The following is an anecdote which is related of him.

He had in his army a soldier renowned for his bravery, but insatiably avaricious.[n] The soldier had embarked for some distant expedition, and, his vessel having been lost, he was cast, half dead, upon the shore. A Macedonian, who cultivated a small field in the neighbourhood, hearing of his misfortune, hastened to his assistance, preserved his life, took him to his house, gave up to him his bed, and during a whole month attended him with unwearied assiduity, and afforded him every aid which pity and humanity could

[m] Justin. lib. 8. c. 2. [n] Senec. de Benef. lib. 4. c. 37.

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suggest. He afterward furnished him with the money necessary to enable him to return to Philip. You shall be convinced of my gratitude, said the soldier at parting, should I ever again see the king my master. He arrived, related to Philip his misfortune, but said not a word of him to whose humanity he was indebted for his life. As a recompense for his sufferings in the service of his sovereign, he asked a small house near the place to which he had been carried by the waves, and which was no other than the house of his benefactor. The king immediately granted his request; but being soon after informed of the whole truth of the transaction, by a letter from the owner of the house, written with much frankness and spirit, he expressed the highest indignation, and commanded the governor of the province to put the latter again in possession of his dwelling, and to brand the forehead of the soldier with a mark of infamy.

This action has been extolled to the skies: I approve without admiring it. Philip himself deserved more to be punished than the ungrateful and rapacious soldier; for the subject who solicits an unjust grant, is less culpable than the prince who bestows it without examination. What then ought Philip to have done after having branded the soldier with infamy? To have renounced the wretched prerogative of being generous with the property of another, and to have engaged by a solemn promise to all his subjects, never again to be so inattentive in the distribution of his favours.

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IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF ARISTODEMUS.

The 11th year of the 107th Olympiad.

From the 3d of July of the year 352, to the 22d of July of the year 351, before Christ.

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

I HAVE mentioned, in one of my former letters, that, to prevent the excursions of Philip, and confine him to his own dominions, it had been resolved to raise sixty talents, and send into Thrace forty galleys, with a powerful army. After about eleven months employed in preparations, we have at last raised five talents,* and fitted out two galleys,[o] the command of which was to be given to Charidemus. He was just ready to sail, when a report was spread that Philip was sick, that he was dead; on which we immediately disarmed; while Philip immediately marched toward Thermopylæ. He was about to fall on Phocis,[p] from whence he might easily have entered Attica, but fortunately we had a fleet on the neighbouring coast, which was conveying a body of troops to the assistance of the Phocians. Nausiclus, their general, landed them as soon as possible, and immediately took possession of the defile; on which Philip abandoned his design, and retired toward Macedonia.[q]

We have been much elated at this event. Our allies have congratulated us on it, and we have de-

* 27,000 livres (1,125*l.*) [o] Demosth. Olynth. 3. p. 35. [p] Diod. lib. 16. p. 437. [q] Id. ibid. p. 436. Demosth. Phil. 1. p. 49. Oros. lib. 3. c. 12.

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creed thanksgivings to the gods, and eulogiums to the troops.[r] Wretched city! in which to take possession of a post without opposition is esteemed an act of bravery, and to escape defeat a subject of triumph!

Some days since, the general assembly took into consideration our disputes with the king of Macedon. Demosthenes ascended the rostrum,[s] and painted in the strongest colours the indolence and frivolity of the Athenians, the ignorance and absurd measures of their leaders, and the ambition and activity of Philip.

He proposed to fit out a fleet, to raise a body of troops, composed, at least in part, of citizens,[t] to carry the war into Macedonia, and not to terminate it, except by an advantageous treaty, or a decisive victory.[u] For, said he, unless we speedily attack Philip in his own dominions, it will probably not be long before he attacks us in ours.[x] He fixed the number of soldiers which it would be necessary to enrol, and proposed means for providing for their subsistence.

Such measures would disconcert the schemes of Philip, and prevent him from making war on us at the expense of our allies, whose ships he seizes with impunity.[y] They would at the same time re-animate the courage of those who have been obliged to throw themselves into his arms, and who bear the yoke of his alliance with that fear and hatred which the pride of an ambitious prince inspires.[z]

[r] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 306. Ulp. ibid. p. 365. [s] Demosth. Phil. 1. p. 47. [t] Id. idid. p. 50. [u] Id. ibid. p. 49. [x] Id. ibid. p. 54. [y] Id. ibid. p. 52. [z] Id. ibid. p. 48.

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Demosthenes explained and enforced what he proposed with equal perspicuity and energy. He possesses that eloquence which compels his hearers to recognise themselves and their conduct in the mortifying picture which he drew of their past errors and present situation.

"See" exclaimed he, "to what a height of audacity Philip has at length arrived.[a] He deprives you of the choice of war or peace, braves you with his menaces, and talks, as we are informed, in the most insolent style. Not satisfied with his former acquisitions, he is still in pursuit of further conquests, and while we sit down inactive and irresolute, incloses us on all sides with his toils. When, therefore, O my countrymen! when will you exert your vigour? When forced by some necessity. Just Heaven! what more urgent necessity can there be to freemen than the disgrace attendant on misconduct? Will you perpetually walk about in the public places, each inquiring of the other, 'What new advices?' Can any thing be more new than that a man of Macedon should conquer the Athenians, and give law to Greece?—'Is Philip dead?—No; but dangerously ill.'—How are you concerned in those rumours? Even should he die, you would soon raise up another Philip by your negligence and cowardice.

"You lose the time for action in frivolous deliberations. Your generals, instead of appearing at the head of your armies, parade in the processions of your priests, to add splendour to the public cere-

[a] Demosth. Phil. 1. p. 48.

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monies.[b] Your armies are only composed of mercenaries, the dregs of foreign nations, vile robbers, who lead their chiefs rather than are led by them, sometimes into the countries of your allies, of whom they are the terror, and sometimes to those of the barbarians, who deprive you of them at the very time when you most want their assistance.[c] Indecision and confusion prevail in your preparations:[d] your projects have neither plan nor forsight. You are the slaves of circumstances, and opportunities perpetually escape you. Like unskilful boxers, you never think of guarding against a blow until you have received it. If you hear that Philip is in the Chersonesus, immediately you pass a decree to send forces thither. If he is said to be at Thermopylæ, instantly another decree passes for the troops to march thither. You hurry up and down, and follow wherever he himself conducts you, but only arrive time enough to be witnesses of his success."[e]

The whole harangue is full of similar strokes. The style of Thucydides, which the orator proposed to himself as a model, it is said, is distinctly perceivable in it.[f] As I left the assembly, I heard many of the Athenians lavishing their praises on Demosthenes, and inquiring what news from the Phocians.

You will perhaps put to me the same question. They were supposed to be without resource after the

[b] Demosth. Phil. 1. p. 51. [c] Id. ibid. p. 50. [d] Id. ibid. p. 52. [e] Id. ibid. p. 53. [f] Dionys. Halic. de Thucyd. Jud. c. 53. t. vi. p. 944.

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victory of Philip, but they have the treasures of Delphi at their disposal; and, as they have increased the pay of their troops, they attract to their standard all the mercenaries who roam over Greece. The last campaign has produced nothing decisive; they have lost some battles, and they have gained some; they have ravaged the country of the Locrians, while their own has been laid waste by the Thebans.[s]

Our friends, who much regret your absence, continue to meet from time to time at my house. Yesterday evening the question was proposed, Why great men are so rare, and only appear at intervals? The debate on it continued a long time. Chrysophilus denied the fact, and maintained that Nature does not favour one age or country more than another. Would fame, added he, ever have celebrated Lycurgus, if he had been born a slave? or Homer, if he had lived at a time when the language of his country was not yet formed? Who can affirm, that, in our time, among civilized or barbarous nations, we might not find other Homers or Lycurguses employed in the discharge of the vilest functions? Nature, ever free and ever rich in her productions, scatters minds endowed with genius over the earth, but circumstances alone can expand and perfect their powers.

[s] Diod. lib. 16. p. 436, &c.

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IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF THESSALUS.

The 2d year of the 107th Olympiad.

(From the 22d of July of the year 351, to the 11th of July of the year 350, before Christ.

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

ARTEMISIA, queen of Caria, is dead; she has survived her brother and husband Mausolus only two years.[h] You know that Mausolus was one of those kings whom the court of Susa keeps as it were in garrison on the frontiers of the empire, to defend its entrance. It is said, that his wife, who governed him, having gathered up his ashes, mixed them, from an excess of affection, with her drink.[i] Her grief is also said to have been the cause of her death.[k] She has, however, pursued, with no less ardour, the ambitious projects with which she had inspired him. By adding treachery[l] to a concurrence of some fortunate circumstances, he acquired possession of the islands of Cos, Rhodes, and several Grecian cities, and Artemisia has retained them in obedience.[m]

Observe, I entreat you, how false and fatal are the ideas which govern this world, and especially those which sovereigns form to themselves of power and glory. Had Artemisia understood the true in-

[h] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 443. [i] Aul. Gell. lib. 10. c. 18. Val. Max. lib. 4. c. 6. extern. No. 1 [k] Theop. ap. Harpocr. in Ἀρτεμ. Strab. lib. 14. p. 656. Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 3. c. 31. t. 2. p. 326. [l] Demosth. de Rhod. Libert. p. 144. [m] Id. ibid. p. 147.

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terests of her husband, she would have taught him to leave fraud and oppression to extensive empires, and to found his own power and honour on the happiness of his province and the love of his people, who only ask of their governors not to be treated as enemies. But she wished to make of him a species of conqueror. Both were lavish of the blood and fortunes of their subjects;[n] and with what view? To embellish the little city of Halicarnassus, and render illustrious the memory of a petty viceroy of the king of Persia.

Artemisia neglected no means which she imagined might bestow immortality on her husband. She invited, by rewards, the most distinguished men of genius to employ themselves in recording the actions of Mausolus. Poems and tragedies have been written in his honour, and the orators of Greece solicited to compose his eulogium. Many of them have entered the lists,[o] and Isocrates and some of his disciples have become competitors. Theopompus, who is employed in writing the history of Greece, has carried off the prize from his master, and had the weakness to boast of his success.[p] I one day asked him whether, while writing the panegyric of a man whose sordid avarice had ruined so many families, the pen did not frequently drop from his hand?[q] He answered: I have now spoken as an orator; another time I shall speak as an historian. Such is the

[n] Theop. ap. Harpocr. in Μαύσωλ. [o] Aul. Gell. lib. 10. c. 18. Plut. X. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 838. Suid. in Isocr. Taylor. Lect. Lys. c. 3. [p] Theop. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 10. c. 3. p. 464. [q] Theop. ap. Harpocr. et Suid. in Μαύσωλ

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falsehood and baseness of which eloquence permits itself to be guilty, and which we have the meanness to pardon.

Artemisia at the same time caused to be built for Mausolus a tomb, which apparently will only immortalise the artists employed in its construction. I have seen the plan of it: it is a long square, four hundred and eleven feet in circuit. The principal part of the edifice, surrounded by thirty-six columns, is to be decorated on its four fronts by four of the most famous sculptors in Greece, Briaxis, Scopas, Leochares, and Timotheus.—Above is to be a pyramid, on which is to be placed a car with four horses. The car will be of marble, and by the hand of Pythis. The total height of the monument is to be one hundred and forty feet.'*

It is already in great forwardness; and as Idrieus, who succeeds his sister Artemisia, does not interest himself so much as the late queen in its completion, the artists have declared that they will consider it as an honour and duty to finish it without requiring any reward.[s] The foundations have been laid in the middle of an open place laid out by Mausolus,[t] on a piece of ground naturally disposed in the form of a theatre, which extends in a descent to the sea. The traveller, when he enters the harbour, cannot but survey the scene which presents itself with admiration.

[r] Plin. lib. 36. c. 5. t. ii. p. 728. * If Pliny, in the description of this edifice, made use of Grecian measures, the 411 feet in circuit will be reduced to 388 feet 2 inches French (413¼ feet Eng.); and the 140 feet in height to 132 feet 2 inches 8 lines French (140 feet 7 inches Eng.). [s] Plin. ibid. [t] Vitruv. lib. 2. c. 8.

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On one side is the royal palace, and on the other the temple of Venus and Mercury, situate near the fountain of Salmacis. In front, the public market extends along the shore; beyond which is the open place above-mentioned; and still farther, the citadel and temple of Mars, on the top of which is a colossal statue. The tomb of Mausolus, intended to fix the eye after it has rested a moment on these superb edifices, will no doubt be one of the finest monuments in the world;[u] but it should have been consecrated to the memory of a benefactor to mankind.

Idrieus, when he ascended the throne, received orders from Artaxerxes to send a body of auxiliaries against the kings of Cyprus, who have revolted. Phocion commands them, in conjunction with Evagoras, who formerly reigned in that island. Their intention is to begin by the siege of Salamis.[x]

The king of Persia has more extensive views: he is making preparations for the conquest of Egypt. I hope you will already have taken proper measures for your security. He has demanded troops from us, and from the other states of Greece. We have refused him, and so also have the Lacedæmonians: it is sufficient for us that we have let him have Phocion. The Grecian cities of Asia have already promised him six thousand men. Thebes will furnish him with one thousand, and Argos with three thousand, which will be commanded by Nisostratus, an able general, but whose phrensy it is to imitate Hercules. In battle he wears a lion-skin over his shoulders, and carries a

[u] Vitruv. lib. 2. c. 8. Strab. lib. 14. p. 656. Plin. ibid.
[x] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 440.

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club in his hand. He is sent by the particular desire of Artaxerxes.[y]

For some time past we have let out for hire our generals, soldiers, and sailors, to the kings of Persia, who have always been very desirous to have Greeks in their service, for whom they pay a great price. Various motives compel our republics to consent to this traffic; the necessity of ridding themselves of foreign mercenaries, whom the peace renders useless, and who are a burthen to the state; the desire of procuring for their citizens, impoverished by war, a pay that may restore their fortunes; the fear of losing the protection and alliance of the great king; and, lastly, the hope of obtaining such a pecuniary donation as may replenish the exhausted public treasury. The Thebans have just received from Artaxerxes[z] the sum of three hundred talents.* We are insulted by a king of Macedon, and bought by a king of Persia: are we not sufficiently degraded?

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF APOLLODORUS.

The 3d year of the 107th Olympiad.

(*From the 11th of July of the year 350, to the 30th of June of the year 349 before Christ.*)

We received the three following Letters on the same day.

LETTER OF NICETAS.

I LAUGH at the fears with which many people wish to fill us. The power of Philip can never be

[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. page 442. [z] Id. ibid. page 438.

* 1,620,000 livres (67,500*l.*)

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durable; it is only founded on perfidy, falsehood, and perjury.[a] He is detested by his allies, whom he has frequently deceived; by his subjects and soldiers, harassed and exhausted by expeditions from which they derive no advantage; by the principal officers of his army, who are punished if they do not succeed in an enterprise, and mortified if they do, for he is so jealous that he would sooner pardon them a shameful defeat than too brilliant success. They live in mortal fear, ever exposed to the slanders of the courtiers, and the envious suspicions of a prince who has reserved to himself all the glory that can be acquired in Macedon.[b]

His kingdom is in a deplorable situation; its harvests fail, its commerce is destroyed. Poor and weak in itself, it is still more enfeebled by its aggrandisement.[c] The slightest reverse of fortune will overturn that prosperity which Philip owes only to the incapacity of our generals, and to the methods of corruption which he has so shamefully but so successfully employed throughout Greece.[d]

His partisans extol his personal qualities; but I will repeat to you what I have heard from those who have had opportunities to view him near and observe his real character.

Propriety and regularity of manners cannot procure his esteem, but vice is almost always rewarded with his friendship.[e] He disdains the man who is

[a] Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 22. Pausan. lib. 8. c. 7. p. 612. Justin. lib. 9. c. 8. [b] Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 23; et ad Philip. Epist. p. 118. [c] Id. ibid. [d] Id. de Fals. Leg. p. 334, 341, &c. [e] Id. Olynth. 2. p. 23. Theoph. ap. Athen. lib. 6. p. 260.

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only virtuous, repulses the man of knowledge and experience who only gives him advice,[f] and courts flattery with as much eagerness as flattery courts other princes. Whoever would please, obtain his favour, and be admitted to his private parties, must have a constitution strong enough to partake in his debauchery, and talents to amuse him and excite his laughter. A few pleasantries, strokes of satire, witticisms, verses, and obscene songs, are sufficient to obtain his highest favour; on which account, if we except Antipater, Parmenio, and two or three other men of merit, his court is only a wretched assembly of knaves, musicians, poets, and buffoons,[g] who applaud him right or wrong. Persons of this description throng to Macedon from every part of Greece.

Callias, who is so expert a buffoon; Callias, not long since the public slave of this city, from which he has been driven, is now one of his principal courtiers.[h] Agathocles, another slave, has raised himself to preferment by the same means; Philip, to reward him, has placed him at the head of a detachment of his troops:[i] and, lastly, Thrasydæus, the silliest and grossest of flatterers, has just obtained a sovereignty in Thessaly.[k]

These despicable men are publicly called the friends of the king, and the scourges of Macedon;[l] their num-

[f] Isocr. Ep. ad Philip. t. i. p. 437. [g] Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 23. Theoph. ap. Athen. lib. 10. p. 439. Id. ap. Polyb. in Excerpt. Val. p. 21. [h] Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 24. [i] Theoph. ap. Athen. lib. 6. c. 17. p. 259. [k] Id. ibid. c. 13. p. 249. [l] Id. ibid. lib. 4. c. 19. p. 167.

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ber is excessive, and their power boundless. Not satisfied with the treasures which he lavishes on them, they persecute the honest citizens, and despoil them of their property, or sacrifice them to their revenge.[m] With them he riots in the most shameful intemperance, passing whole nights in drinking, almost continually intoxicated and furious, striking every one who approaches him, and committing excesses which cannot be recollected without a blush.[n]

It is not only within the walls of his palace that he thus degrades the dignity of the throne, but he dishonours it in the face of nations. Have we not seen him, when lately he was among the Thessalians, so famed for their intemperance, invite them to frequent entertainments, intoxicate himself with them, amuse them with his pleasantries, leap, dance, and act by turns the part of the buffoon and pantomime?[o]

No, Anacharsis, never can I believe that such a stage-player was born to enslave Greece.

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

Received on the same day with the preceding.

I CANNOT get rid of my fears for the present state of Greece. In vain do I hear my countrymen boast of the number of its inhabitants, the valour of its soldiers, and the splendour of their ancient victories. In vain am I told that Philip will set bounds to his conquests, and that his enterprises have hitherto been coloured by

[m] Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 6. page 260. [n] Id. ibid. lib. 10. c. 10. p. 439. [o] Id. ibid. lib. 6. c. 17. p. 260.

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specious pretexts. I fear the insufficiency of our means of defence, and I distrust his real intentions.

The states of Greece are enfeebled and corrupted; they have no longer laws or citizens, any idea of real glory, or zeal for the good of the country: every where we only see vile mercenaries in the place of soldiers, and plunderers instead of generals.

Our republics will never unite against Philip. Some are engaged in a war which must complete their destruction, and others have nothing in common but jealousies and claims which must prevent their union.[p] The example of Athens might perhaps make a greater impression on them than their private interests; but here nothing is seen but festivals and shows. We endure the insults of Philip with the same courage as our forefathers braved dangers. The impetuous eloquence of Demosthenes cannot rouse us from our supineness. When I see him ascend the rostrum, I seem to hear him cry amidst the tombs of our ancient warriors: Ye ashes extinct, ye dry bones, arise, and defend your country!

On the other side, observe that Philip, the single confidant of his own secrets, the sole dispenser of his treasures, the most able general of Greece, the bravest soldier in his army, foresees, conceives, and executes every thing himself; anticipates events, derives advantage from them when that is possible, and yields to them when to yield is necessary.[q] Remember that his troops are extremely well disciplined;[r] that he

[p] Demosth. Phil. 4. p. 102. Id. de Coron. p. 475. [q] Id. Olynth. 1. p. 1. [r] Id. Olynth. 2. p. 23.

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exercises them continually; that in time of peace he makes them perform marches of three hundred stadia,* with arms and baggage;[s] that at all times he is at their head; that he removes them with an alarming expedition from one extremity of his kingdom to the other; and that they have learned of him to make no difference between summer and winter, between fatigue and rest.[t] Recollect, that if the interior country of Macedonia exhibits marks of the calamities of war, he has found abundant resources in the gold mines which belong to him, in the spoils of the cities and states he has conquered, and in the trade of the nations which begin to frequent the ports he has made himself master of in Thessaly. Observe, that, since he has been on the throne, he has proposed to himself but one object, which he has had the courage leisurely to prosecute; that he takes no step without mature reflexion, nor proceeds to a second till he is assured of the success of the first; that he is besides actuated by an insatiable thirst of glory, which he seeks in the midst of dangers, in the thickest of the battle, and wherever it may be dearest purchased.[u] Remember, in fine, that his operations are always guided by times and places. The frequent revolts of the Thracians, Illyrians, and other barbarous nations, he quells with his victorious armies; while he attacks the states of Greece with incursions to try their strength, apologies to justify his enterprises, artifices

* More than eleven leagues. [s] Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 4. c. 2. § 10. [t] Demosth. Philip. 4. p. 92. Id. ad Philip. Epist. p. 119. [u] Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 23.

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to divide and enfeeble them, and the poison of corruption to reduce them to slavery.[x]

He has infected them with that destructive and fatal contagion which withers honour to the roots:[y] he retains in his pay the public orators, the principal citizens, and even entire cities. Sometimes he gives up his conquests to his allies, who thus become the instruments of his ambition till they may be made its victims.[z] As men of genius and abilities have always considerable influence on the public opinion, he maintains with them a constant correspondence,[a] and offers them an asylum at his court when they are dissatisfied with the treatment they receive from their country.[b]

His partisans are so numerous, and, when occasion requires, so well seconded by his secret negociations, that, notwithstanding the doubts which may be entertained of the regard he pays to his word or oath, and notwithstanding all ought to be convinced that his hatred is less fatal than his friendship, the Thessalians have not hesitated to throw themselves into his arms, and many other states wait only a fit opportunity to follow their example.

Yet an idea of feebleness is still annexed to his power, because we have as yet only seen it in its infancy. I have heard many persons, and even men of good understanding, say, that the projects attri-

[x] Demosth. de Cor. p. 475 et 482. Justin. lib. 9. c. 8. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 451. [y] Demosth. de Halon. p. 71. De Fals. Leg. p. 334, 341, &c. [z] Id. de Fals. Leg. p. 315. [a] Isocr. Ep. ad Phil. [b] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 414.

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buted to Philip are much beyond the strength of his kingdom; as if the question merely related to Macedonia, such as it formerly was, and not rather to an empire which, during ten years, has been forming by progressive and consolidated augmentations, and to a prince whose genius increases a hundred fold the resources of his states, and whose activity, no less astonishing, multiplies in the same proportion the number of his troops and the moments of his life.

In vain may we flatter ourselves that his life is passed in licentiousness and debauchery; in vain may calumny represent him to us as the most despicable and dissolute of men.[c] The time which other sovereigns lose in the insipidity of indolence, he gives to his pleasures; and that which they bestow on their pleasures, he dedicates to the interests of his kingdom. Would to heaven that, instead of the vices attributed to him, he had other defects; that he was devoid of penetration, obstinate in his opinions, inattentive in his choice of ministers and generals, and that he conducted his enterprises without vigilance, or any regular plan! Philip has perhaps the defect of admiring men of wit, as if he himself did not possess more than any person. A stroke of pleasantry may please, but cannot govern him.

In fine, our orators, to inspire the people with confidence, incessantly tell them that a power

[c] Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 22.

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founded on injustice and perfidy cannot subsist. Without doubt, it could not, if other states were not equally perfidious and unjust; but the reign of virtue is over, and it now is force alone that governs mankind.

My dear Anacharsis, when I reflect on the astonishing progress which Philip has made in a few years, and when I think on that assemblage of eminent qualities and favourable circumstances of which I have here given you the sketch, I cannot avoid concluding that Philip was born to enslave Greece.

LETTER OF CALLIMEDON.

Received on the same day with the two preceding letters.

I ADORE Philip: he loves glory, genius, women,[d] and wine. On the throne he is the greatest of kings,[e] in society the most amiable of men. How does he exhibit to advantage the wit of others; and how much are others enchanted with that which he himself displays! What ease and politeness in his manner! what taste in all he says, and what grace in all he does!

The king of Macedon is sometimes obliged to treat the vanquished harshly; but Philip is humane, mild, affable,[f] and essentially good: I am sure he is, for he wishes to be beloved;[g] and besides I have

[d] Athen. lib. 13. p. 578. Plut. Conjug. Præcept. t. ii. p. 141. Id. Apophth. p. 178. [e] Cicer. de Offic. lib. 1. c. 26. t. iii. p. 203. [f] Id. ibid. [g] Justin. lib. 9. c. 8.

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heard it said by I know not whom, perhaps by myself, that whoever is such a friend to mirth and pleasantry can never be base and cruel.

His anger is kindled and extinguished in a moment. Without gall or rancour, he is as much superior to offence as to praise. Our orators load him with the most insolent reproaches, and his subjects themselves frequently tell him disagreeable truths. He says that he is under obligations to the former, because they teach him to correct his faults;[h] and to the latter, because they instruct him in his duties. A woman of the lower class of people came to him, intreating him to terminate her law-suit. I have not time, answered he. Why then do you continue on the throne? returned she. He felt the force of this reply, and immediately not only heard and decided her suit, but ordered all the causes which were pending to be brought before him.[i] Another time he fell asleep during the pleadings, and yet condemned one of the parties to pay a fine. "I appeal," exclaimed the person against whom he gave sentence. "And to whom do you appeal?" "To the king, when more attentive." Immediately he revised the proceedings, acknowledged his error, and paid himself the fine he had imposed.[k]

Would you know whether he forgets the services which have been rendered him? He had received some from Philon while he was a hostage at Thebes, ten years ago at least. Not long since the Thebans

[h] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 177. [i] Id. ibid. p. 179. [k] Id. ibid. p. 178.

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sent deputies to him, among the number of whom was Philan. The king wished to load him with his favours;[l] and meeting only with refusals, "Why," said he, "do you envy me the glory and pleasure of excelling you in conferring benefits?"[m]

After the taking of a certain city, one of the prisoners who were put up to sale claimed his friendship. The king, surprised, ordered him to be brought near him. He was sitting, and the stranger whispered him: Let your robe fall lower, for your posture at present is not decent. He is right, exclaimed Philip, he is my friend; let him be set at liberty.[n]

I might relate to you a thousand anecdotes of his mildness and moderation. His courtiers advised him to punish severely Nicanor, who was incessantly blaming his administration and his conduct; but he replied: "This man is not the worst of the Macedonians, and perhaps I am in fault for having neglected him." He immediately inquired into his case, learned that Nicanor was irritated by his necessities, and afforded him relief. Nicanor afterwards only spoke of him in terms of the highest eulogium; and Philip said to his accusers: "You now see that it depends on a king to cause or prevent the complaints of his subjects."[o] Some other person having indulged in severe but witty pleasantries at his expense, the courtiers proposed to the king to banish him. "I shall take care not to do that,"

[l] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 314. [m] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 178. [n] Id. ibid. [o] Id. ibid. p. 177.

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said Philip; "for he will then go and say every where else what he has said here." [p]

At the siege of some town, he had his collar-bone broken by a stone. The surgeon who dressed his wound asked him to grant him a favour.[q] "I cannot refuse you," said Philip, smiling; "for you have me by the throat." *

His court is the asylum of genius and pleasure; magnificence shines in his festivals, and wit and mirth preside at his entertainments. These are facts. I trouble myself but little about his ambition. Can you suppose it any great misfortune to live under such a prince? If he comes to attack us, we shall fight him; and if we are vanquished, he will only require us to laugh and drink with him.

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF CALLIMACHUS.

The fourth year of the 107th Olympiad.

(From the 30th of June of the year 349, to the 18th of July of the year 348, before Christ.)

WHILE we were in Egypt and Persia, we availed ourselves of every opportunity to transmit to our friends at Athens an account of what we had observed in our travels. Among all my papers, I have only found the following fragment of a letter, which I wrote to Apollodorus some time after our arrival at Susa, one of the capitals of Persia.

[p] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 177. [q] Id. ibid. * The original text says, "Take what you please, for you have the key in your hand." The Greek word which signifies the collar-bone, means also a key.

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FRAGMENT OF A LETTER OF ANACHARSIS.

We have passed through several provinces of this vast empire. At Persepolis, though our eyes have been for some years familiarised to the monuments of Egypt, we beheld with astonishment the tombs excavated in the rock to a prodigious elevation, and the palace of the Persian kings. The latter, it is said, was built near two centuries ago, under the reign of Darius the son of Hystaspes, by Egyptian workmen, whom Cambyses had brought into Persia.[r] A tripple enclosure of walls, one of which is sixty cubits high;* gates of brass; innumerable columns, some seventy feet in height; large blocks of marble, sculptured in bas-relief, and containing an infinite number of figures;[s] subterranean passages, in which are deposited immense sums; all display magnificence and fear, for this palace serves at the same time as a citadel.[t]

The kings of Persia have caused other palaces to be built, less sumptuous indeed, but of wonderful beauty, at Susa, Ecbatana, and in all the cities in which they pass the different seasons of the year.

They have also spacious parks which they call *paradises*,[u] and which are divided into two parts. In the one, armed with arrows and javelins, they pursue, on horseback, through the forests, the deer which are shut up in them:[w] and in the other, in

[r] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 43. * 85 French (or 90¼ English) feet. [s] Chardin. Corn. Le Bruyn, &c. [t] Diod. Sic. lib. 17. p. 554. [u] Bris. de Regn. Pers. lib. 1. p. 109. [w] Xenoph. de Instit. Cyr. lib. 1. p. 11.

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which the art of gardening has exhausted its utmost efforts, they cultivate the most beautiful flowers, and gather the most delicious fruits. They are not less attentive to adorn these parks with superb trees, which they commonly dispose in the form called quincunx.[x] In various places we meet with similar paradises, which belong to the satraps or the grandees.[y]

But our attention was still more engaged by the conspicuous protection and encouragement which the sovereign grants to agricultrue, and that not by some transient favours and rewards, but an enlightened vigilance, more powerful than edicts and laws. He appoints over every district two superintendants, one for military and the other for civil affairs. The office of the former is to preserve the public tranquillity, and that of the latter to promote the progress of industry and agriculture. If one of these should not discharge his duty, the other may complain of him to the governor of the province, or the sovereign himself, who, from time to time, visits a part of his dominions. If the monarch sees the country covered with trees, harvests, and all the productions of which the soil is capable, he heaps honours on the two officers, and enlarges their government; but if he finds the lands uncultivated, they are directly displaced, and others appointed in their stead. Commissioners of incorruptible integrity exercise the same justice in the districts through which the sovereign does not pass.[z]

[x] Xenoph. Mem. lib. 5. p. 829. [y] Id. de Exped. Cyr. lib. 1. p. 246. Quint. Curt. lib. 8. c. 1. [z] Xen. Mem. lib. 5. p. 828.

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In Egypt, we had often heard speak with the greatest eulogiums of that Arsames whom the king of Persia had for many years past called to his councils. In the ports of Phœnicia we were shown citadels newly built, a number of ships of war on the stocks, and timber and rigging which had been brought from various places. For these advantages, the empire is indebted to the vigilance of Arsames. Some industrious citizens said to us: Our commerce was threatened with speedy ruin, but the wise measures of Arsames have re-established it. We were informed, at the same time, that the important island of Cyprus, after having long experienced the evils of anarchy,[a] had submitted to the king of Persia; and that this also was to be ascribed to the wise politics of Arsames. In the interior parts of the empire, some aged officers said to us, with tears in their eyes: We have served the king faithfully, but, in the distribution of his favours, we were forgotten. We addressed ourselves to Arsames, though he was unknown to us; and he has procured us a comfortable old age, without speaking of his benefactions to any person. An individual added, Arsames, prejudiced against me by my enemies, believed it his duty to lay on me the rigorous hand of authority; but soon after, being convinced that I was innocent, he sent for me, and I found him much more afflicted at what had passed than I was myself. He entreated me to assist him to make reparation for an act of injustice which rent his

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 440.

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heart, and made me promise to have recourse to him whenever I should have need of protection; nor have I ever solicited him in vain.

His secret influence every where inspires all minds with activity. Military men felicitate themselves on the emulation which he maintains among them, and the people on the peace which he has negotiated for them, notwithstanding almost insurmountable obstacles. In fine, the nation has, by his prudence, been again raised to that high rank of respectability among foreign powers which it had lost by unfortunate wars.

Arsames is no longer in the ministry; he passes a peaceful life at his country seat, about forty parasangs distant from Susa. His friends still remain attached to him: those whose merit he has called into action remember his benefactions or his promises; and all frequent his palace with more assiduity than if he were still in place.

Chance has conducted us to his charming retreat, and his kindness retained us there during several months; nor do I know when we shall be able to leave a society which Athens could only equal at the time when politeness, propriety, and good taste, reigned most unrivalled in that city.

This society constitutes the happiness of Arsames, and he is its delight and ornament. His conversation is animated, easy, and interesting; frequently enlivened with sallies which escape him with surprising facility and rapidity, and ever embellished by the Graces, and a gaiety, which, like his happiness, is communicated to all about him. His discourse is

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entirely free from all claims of superiority or unsuitable and affected expressions; in the midst of the greatest ease and negligence, he observes the most perfect politeness, and his style is that of a man who possesses, in the most eminent degree, the gift of pleasing, and the most exquisite discernment of propriety.

This happy union, when he finds it, or imagines that he has found it, in others, particularly impresses him in their favour. He listens with an obliging attention; he applauds with transport a sally of wit, provided it be rapid; a novel thought, if it be just; and a great sentiment, if it be not exaggerated.

In the intercourse of friendship, his agreeable qualities, still more displayed, seem every instant to show themselves for the first time. He exhibits in his less intimate connexions a facility of manners of which Aristotle had conceived the model. We often meet with minds so feeble, said he to me one day, that they approve every thing, that they may offend no person; and others who approve nothing, at the risk of displeasing every one.[b] There is a medium between these two kinds of behaviour, for which our language has no name, because very few people are able to attain to it. It is a natural disposition, which, without having the reality, possesses the appearances, and in some degree the charms of friendship. He who is endowed with it, equally avoids to flatter or offend the self-love of any person. He pardons weaknesses, endures defects, is not eager

[b] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 4. c. 12. t. ii. p. 54.

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to hold up every absurdity to ridicule, or forward to give advice, and knows how so properly to proportion the attention and regard which he testifies for others,[c] that all with whom he converses believe they have obtained from him that degree of affection or esteem of which they are desirous.

Such is the charm which attracts and secures the hearts of all who approach Arsames. It is a species of general benevolence, the more inviting with him, as it is united, without an effort, to the splendour of glory and the simplicity of modesty. One day an opportunity offered to speak, in his presence, of his great qualities: he hastened to expose his defects. Another time, when the conversation turned on some measures of which he had the direction during his ministry, we wished to speak of the success of his plans, but he himself only spoke of the mistakes he had committed.

His heart, easily moved, is inflamed at the relation of a noble action, and affected in the most lively manner by the sufferings of the unfortunate, whose gratitude he excites without exacting it. In his house, and around his estate, are found numerous instances of the exertion of that generous beneficence which prevents all wishes and satisfies all wants. Already lands which had been abandoned are covered with harvests, and the poor inhabitants of the neighbouring countries, whose solicitations are anticipated by his benefits, pay him a tribute by which he is much more affected than by their respect.

[c] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 4. c. 14. p. 56.

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My dear Apollodorus, it is the province of history to celebrate, in the distinguished manner which he merits, a minister who, in possession of unlimited favour from his sovereign, and retaining no kind of flatterers in his pay, has laboured singly for the glory and happiness of his nation. I have communicated to you the first impressions which he made on us, and shall perhaps hereafter transmit to you other particulars of his character. You will no doubt pardon me this: travellers ought not to neglect such instructive details; for certainly the description of a great man is well worth that of a sumptuous edifice.

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

You know that in the neighbourhood of the dominions of Philip, in Maritime Thrace, a country called Chalcidice extends along the sea-shore, where formerly settled several Greek colonies, of which the principal is Olynthus; a strong, opulent, and very populous city, which, situated in part on an eminence, attracts from far the eye of the traveller, by the extent of its walls and the beauty of its edifices.[d]

Its inhabitants have more than once exhibited the most signal proofs of courage. When Philip ascended the throne, they were on the point of concluding an alliance with us; but he contrived to prevent this by seducing us by his promises, and them by his favours.[e] He increased their territories by ceding to

[d] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 63. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 412. [e] Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 22.

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them Anthemus and Potidæa, of which he had made himself master.[f] Moved by this generosity, they had suffered him, during several years, to increase his power without opposition: and if by accident they have taken any umbrage at it, he has immediately dispatched ambassadors to them, who, supported by the numerous partisans which he takes care to keep in pay in that city, have easily quieted these transient alarms.[g]

Their eyes have at length been opened, and they have resolved to enter into an alliance with us.[h] They have, besides, for a long time refused to deliver up to the king two of his brothers by another mother, who had fled to them for refuge, and who might assert claims to the throne of Macedon.[i] He now employs these pretexts to complete the design which he has long conceived, of adding Chalcidice to his dominions. He has obtained possession, without difficulty, of some cities of the country, and the rest will soon fall into his hands.[ii] Olynthus is threatened with a siege, and has sent deputies to solicit our assistance. Demosthenes has spoken in their behalf,[k] and the assembly has adopted his opinion, in despite of the opposition of Demades, an eloquent orator, but suspected of maintaining a correspondence with Philip.[l]

Chares had set sail with thirty galleys and two

[f] Demosth. Philip. 2. p. 66. Philip. 4. p. 104. [g] Id. Philip. 3. p. 87 et 93. [h] Id. Olynth. 3. p. 36, &c. [i] Justin. lib. 6. c. 3. Oros. lib. 3. c. 12. p. 172. [ii] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 450. [k] Demosth. Olynth. Plut. X. Rhetor. Vit. t. ii. p. 845. [l] Suid. in Δημαδ.

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thousand light-armed troops.[m] On the coast near to Olynthus, he met with a small body of mercenaries in the service of the king of Macedon; and, contented with having put them to flight, and taken their leader, surnamed *the cock*, returned to enjoy his triumph at home. The Olynthians have not been succoured; but after some sacrifices, by way of thanksgiving, our general has given an entertainment to the people in the forum,[n] who, in the intoxication of their joy, have decreed him a crown of gold.

The Olynthians, in the mean time, having sent to us other deputies, we have dispatched to their assistance eighteen galleys, four thousand foreign light-armed soldiers, and a hundred and fifty horses,[o] under the command of Charidemus, who excels Chares only in villany. After having ravaged the neighbouring country, he has entered the city, where he every day signalises himself by his intemperance and debauchery.[p]

Though many people here maintain that this war is foreign to us,[q] I am persuaded that nothing can be of more importance to Athens than the preservation of Olynthus. Should Philip obtain possession of that city, what can prevent him from immediately invading Attica? We have only between him and us the Thessalians who are his allies, the The-

[m] Philoch. ap. Dionys. Halic. Epist. ad Amm. de Demosth. et Arist. c. 9. t. vi. p. 734. [n] Theoph. et Duris, ap. Athen. lib. 12. c. 8. p. 532. Argum. Olynth. 3. ap. Demosth. p. 34. [o] Philoch. ap. Dionys. Halic. Epist. ad Amm. de Demosth. et Arist. c. 9. t. vi. p. 734. [p] Theoph. ap. Athen. lib. 10. p. 436. [q] Ulpian. in Demosth. Olynth. 1. p. 6.

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bans who are our enemies, and the Phocians who are too weak even to defend themselves.[r]

LETTER OF NICETAS.

I EXPECTED that Philip would take some imprudent step. After having long been careful to remain on good terms with the Olynthians, whom he feared,[s] he has suddenly advanced within forty stadia* of their city; and when they sent deputies to him to demand what were his intentions, his answer was: "You must either quit your city, or I my kingdom."[t] He has then forgotten, that not long since the Olynthians compelled his father Amyntas to cede to them a part of his territories, and that they afterwards made an obstinate resistance to his arms, when reinforced by those of the Lacedæmonians, whose assistance he had implored.[tt]

It is said that immediately on his arrival he has defeated them. But how will he be able to force those walls which art has fortified, and which are defended by a whole army? This consists, first, of ten thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry, raised in Chalcidice; and next, of a number of brave warriors whom the besieged have received from their ancient allies:[u] add to these the troops of Charidemus, and the new reinforcement of two thousand heavy-armed

[r] Demosth. Olynth. 1. page 4. [s] Id. Olynth. 3. page 36.
* About a league and a half. [t] Demosth. Philip. 3. page 87.
[tt] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 559. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 341.
[u] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 335.

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infantry and three hundred cavalry, all Athenians, which we have just sent off.[w]

Philip would have never engaged in this enterprise had he foreseen its consequences. He had imagined that he should carry all before him at the first onset. He is likewise preyed on by another secret disquietude. The Thessalians, his allies, will soon be among the number of his enemies. He had taken from them the city of Pagasæ; they demanded it to be restored: he intended to fortify Magnesia; they oppose his design: he received certain duties in their ports and markets; they propose to reserve them to themselves; and if he is deprived of them, how will he pay that numerous army of mercenaries which constitutes his whole strength? It is presumed, on the other hand, that the Illyrians and Pæönians, little accustomed to servitude, will soon shake off the yoke of a prince whose victories have rendered him insolent.[x]

What would we not have given to have engaged the Olynthians against him? The event has exceeded our most sanguine hopes. You will doubtless soon learn that the power and glory of Philip have been dashed to atoms against the ramparts of Olynthus.

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

Philip maintained a correspondence in Eubœa, secretly conveyed troops thither, and already had

[w] Philoch. ap. Dionys. Halic. ap. Amm. de Demosth. c. 9 t. vi. p. 735. [x] Demosth. Olynth. 1. p. 4.

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gained possession of the greater part of its cities. Master of that island, he would soon have been so of all Greece. At the request of Plutarchus of Eretria, we sent off Phocion, with a small number of troops, cavalry and infantry.[y] We relied on the partisans of liberty, and the foreigners whom Plutarchus had in his pay. But corruption had made so great a progress, that the whole island rose against us, Phocion was in the most imminent danger, and we were obliged to make the remainder of the cavalry march to his assistance.[z]

Phocion occupied an eminence which was separated by a deep ditch from the Plain of Tamyna.[a] The enemy, who had for some time held him besieged, resolved at length to drive him from his post. He saw them advance, and still continued quiet; but Plutarchus, in contempt of his orders, quitted his entrenchments at the head of the foreign troops, was followed by our cavalry, and both attacking in disorder, were put to flight. The whole camp shuddered with indignation; but Phocion restrained the courage of his soldiers, under pretence that the auspices were not favourable. The moment, however, that he saw the enemy break down the ramparts of the camp, he gave the signal for the attack, briskly repulsed them, and pursued them into the plain: the action was bloody, and the victory complete. The orator Æschines brought us the news of this battle, in which he had distinguished himself.[b]

[y] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 747. [z] Demosth. in Mid. p. 629.
[a] Plut. ibid. [b] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 422.

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Phocion has driven from Eretria, Plutarchus who tyrannised over it, and from Eubœa all the petty despots who had sold themselves to Philip. He has placed a garrison in the fort of Zaretra, to secure the independence of the island; and, after a campaign which all those who are acquainted with military affairs highly admire, has returned again to mix undistinguished with the other citizens of Athens.

The two following anecdotes will prove his wisdom and humanity. Before the battle, he forbade his officers to prevent desertion, which he said would clear the army of a multitude of cowardly and mutinous soldiers. After his victory he ordered that all the Greek prisoners should be set at liberty, lest the people should take revenge on them by some act of cruelty.[c]

In one of our late conversations, Theodorus entertained us with a discourse on the nature and motion of the celestial bodies. The only compliment, however, which Diogenes paid him, was by asking him whether it was long since he came down from heaven.[d] Panthion afterward read to us a work of excessive length. Diogenes, who sat near him, from time to time cast his eyes on the manuscript, and perceiving that he approached the end, suddenly exclaimed: "Land, land, my friends! have patience but a moment longer."[e]

Soon after, some person asked by what signs a traveller may know, immediately on his arrival in any

[c] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 747. [d] Diog. Laërt. lib. 6. § 39.
[e] Id. ibid. § 38. Etymol. in Γαγαι.

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city, that education is neglected there, Plato answered: "If he finds that physicians and judges are necessary."[f]

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF THEOPHILUS.

The 1st year of the 108th Olympiad.

(*From the 18th of July of the year 348, to the 8th of July of the year 347, before Christ.*)

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

A FEW days since, walking without the Thracian gate, we saw a man on horseback arrive, riding full speed. We stopped him, and inquired whence he came, and whether he knew any thing concerning the siege of Olynthus. I have been to Potidæa, answered he, and on my return I no longer saw Olynthus.[g] At these words he left us, and in a moment was out of sight. We returned into the city, and found it in universal consternation at the calamitous fate which has befallen Olynthus.

That city is no more: its riches, its forces, its allies, and the fourteen thousand men which we sent to its aid, at different times, all have not been able to save it.[h] Philip, repulsed on every assault, daily lost numbers of his men;[i] but traitors which it contained within its walls every day hastened the moment of its ruin. The king of Macedon had purchased by bribes both its magistrates and its generals. The principal

[f] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 405. [g] Agath. ap. Phoc. p. 335. [h] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 335. Dionys. Halic. Ep. ad Amm. t. vi. p. 736. [i] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 450.

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of these Euthycrates and Lasthenes, delivered into his hands at one time five hundred horsemen whom they commanded;[ii] and after other acts of treachery, not less fatal, gave him entrance into the city, which was immediately given up to pillage. Houses, porticos, temples, every thing has been destroyed by fire and sword, and soon will it scarcely be known where Olynthus formerly stood.[k] Philip has caused the inhabitants to be sold for slaves, and put to death two of his brothers, who had for several years made that their asylum.[l]

All Greece is alarmed, and fears for its power and liberty.[m] Every place is surrounded by spies and enemies, and how may it be possible to guard against the universal venality? How shall we defend ourselves against a prince who has often said, and who has proved his words by facts, that there are no walls which a beast of burden, laden with gold, will not easily make his way over?[n] Other nations have applauded the thundering decrees which we have enacted against those who have betrayed the Olynthians.[o] We must likewise do justice to the conquerors, who, indignant at this act of perfidy, openly upbraided the principal persons concerned in it with their guilt, and called them traitors to their country. Euthycrates and Lasthenes complained of their be-

[ii] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 335. [k] Id. Phil. 3. p. 89. Strab. lib. 2. p. 121. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 450. [l] Oros. lib. 3. c. 12. Justin. lib. 8. c. 3. [m] Agath. ap. Phoc. p. 1334. [n] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 178. Cicer. ad Attic. lib. 1. Epist. 16. t. viii. p. 75. [o] Demosth. ibid.

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haviour to Philip, who sarcastically replied: "The Macedonian soldiers are very rude and unpolished, they will call a spade a spade."[p]*

While the Olynthians, laden with chains, watered with their tears the ashes of their country, or were driven in crowds along the public roads at the pleasure of their new masters,[q] Philip dared to offer up thanks to Heaven for the evils of which he had been the author, and celebrated superb games in honour of the Olynthian Jupiter.[r] He had invited to their entertainment, which concluded this odious festival, the most celebrated artists and the most distinguished actors. There, in the intoxication of victory and pleasure, the king anticipated or satisfied the wishes of all present, and lavished on them his favours or his promises. Satyrus, the excellent comic actor, kept a mournful silence; which the king perceiving, reproached him with his melancholy: "Is it," said he, "because you doubt of my generosity or my esteem? Have you no favour to solicit?" "I could ask one," replied Satyrus, "which depends entirely on you; but I fear a refusal." "Speak," said Philip, "and be certain you shall obtain whatever you request."

"The closest connexions of hospitality and friendship," replied the actor, "subsisted between myself

[p] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 178. * These are the exact words of Plutarch, though the proverbial expression is not retained in the French. [q] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 341. [r] Id. ibid. p. 322. Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 420. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 451.

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and Apollophanes of Pydna. He was put to death on a false accusation, and left only two daughters, yet very young. Their relations sent them to Olynthus, as a place of security; they are now in chains, their fate depends on you, and I venture to solicit their liberty. I have no other interest in this than the preservation of their honour. My intention is to give them marriage portions, to choose them husbands, and to prevent their doing any thing unworthy of their father and of his friend." The whole banqueting-hall resounded with the applauses which Satyrus merited; and Philip, more affected than any other person, immediately commanded the two young captives to be set at liberty, and delivered to Satyrus. This act of clemency is the more noble, as Apollophanes was accused of having been one of the conspirators who deprived Alexander, the brother of Philip, of his life and crown.

I have not mentioned the war of the Phocians: it still continues, without any remarkable incidents having taken place: Heaven grant it may not terminate like that of the Olynthians!

LETTER OF NICETAS

My expectations have, I own, been totally disappointed by the calamitous termination of the siege of Olynthus; because it was impossible I should foresee the deplorable blindness of the people of that city.

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Their ruin is solely to be attributed to their not having exterminated the party of Philip in its birth. They had at the head of their cavalry Apollonides, an able general, and an excellent citizen, whom they suddenly banished,[s] because the partisans of Philip had contrived to render him suspected. Lasthenes and his associate Euthycrates, whom they appointed in his place, had received from Macedon timber, herds of oxen, and other riches, which they were in no condition to acquire. Their connexion with Philip was glaring, yet the Olynthians could not perceive it. During the siege, their leaders manifestly acted in concert with the king, yet the Olynthians still placed full confidence in them. It was universally known that Philip had subjected the cities of Chalcidice more by bribes than the force of arms, yet this example was lost on the Olynthians.[t]

The fate of Euthycrates and Lasthenes, it is to be hoped, will in future terrify those who might be base enough to be guilty of similar treachery. These two wretches have perished miserably.[u] Philip, who despises though he employs traitors, has thought proper to deliver them up to the outrages of the soldiers, who have at last torn them in pieces.

The taking of Olynthus, instead of destroying our hopes, has served only to raise them. Our orators have kindled all the ardour of the love of liberty in the minds of the people. We have sent off a great

[s] Demosth. Phil. 3. p. 93 et 94. [t] Id. de Fals. Leg. p. 335.
[u] Id. de Cherson. p. 80.

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number of ambassadors,[x] every where to endeavour to excite enemies against Philip, and to procure a general assembly of the Grecian states to deliberate on the war. It is to be held here. Æschines is one to the Arcadians, who have promised to accede to their league. The other states are beginning to be in motion, and all Greece will soon be under arms.

The republic is no longer solicitous to preserve appearances. Besides the decrees which we have passed against those whose treachery has been the occasion of the destruction of Olynthus, we have publicly received such of the inhabitants as have been able to make their escape from its flames, and from slavery.[y] By these vigorous measures, Philip will perceive that the dispute between him and us can no longer be carried on by furtive attacks, remonstrances, negotiations, and projects of peace.

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

The 15th of Thargelion.*

You will share in our grief: an unexpected death has deprived us of Plato, who died on the 7th of this

[x] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 295. Æschin. ibid. p. 404. Id. in Ctesiph. p. 437. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 450. [y] Senec. in Excerpt. Controv. t. iii. p. 516. * The 25th of May of the year 347 before Christ.

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month,* on his birth-day.[z] He had not been able to avoid going to a marriage-entertainment to which he was invited.[a] I sat next him. He only ate, as was frequently his custom, a few olives.[b] Never was he more agreeable, or in greater apparent health, but at the very moment I was congratulating him on this, he was taken ill, and sunk into my arms in a state of insensibility. All the assistance we could afford him was ineffectual. We caused him to be carried home, where we saw on his table the last lines he had written but a short time before,[c] and the corrections which he had made at intervals in his treatise on the republic.[d] These were watered with our tears. The regret of the public, and the sincerest sorrow of his friends, have accompanied him to the tomb. He was buried near the academy.[e] He had exactly completed his eighty-first year.[f]

His will contains the state of his effects,[g] which

* The 17th of May of the year 347 before Christ. I do not give this date as certain: it is well known that chronologists are divided concerning the year and day on which Plato died; but it appears that the difference can only be a few months. (See Dodwell de Cycl. Dissert. 10. p. 609; as also a dissertation by father Corsini, inserted in a collection of pieces, entitled, Symbolæ Literariæ, t. vi. p. 80.) [z] Diog. Laërt. in Plat. lib. 3. § 2. Senec. Ep. 58. [a] Hermip. ap. Diog. Laërt. in Plat. lib. 3. § 2. [b] Diog. Laërt. lib. 6. § 25. [c] Cicer. de Senect. c. 5. t. iii. p. 298. [d] Dionys. Halic. de Comp. Verb. c. 25. p. 209. Quintil. Instit. lib. 8. c. 6. p. 529. Diog. Laërt. lib. 3. § 37. [e] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 30. p. 76. [f] Diog. Laërt. lib. 3. § 2. Cicer. ibid. Senec. Ep. 58. t. ii. p. 207. Censor. de Die Nat. c. 14 et 15. Lucian. in Macrob. t. iii. p. 223. Val. Max. lib. 8. c. 7, &c. [g] Diog. Laërt. lib. 3. § 41.

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is as follows: two country-houses; three minæ in ready money;* four slaves; two silver vessels, the one weighing 165 drachmas, and the other 45; a gold ring and an ear-ring of the same metal, which he wore when a child.[h] He declares that he left no debt.[i] He bequeaths one of his country-houses to the son of Adimanthus his brother; and gives liberty to Diana, whose zeal and services merited this proof of his gratitude. He has regulated every thing concerning his funeral and his tomb.[k] Speusippus, his nephew, is appointed one of his executors, and is to succeed him at the academy.

Among his papers have been found letters on philosophical subjects. He had more than once told us that, when in Sicily, he had some slight conversations with the younger Dionysius, king of Syracuse, on the nature of the first principle and the origin of evil; and that Dionysius joining with these imperfect notions his own ideas, and those of some other philosophers, had published them in a work which only displays his ignorance.[l]

Some time after the return of Plato, the king sent to him the philosopher Archidemus, requesting him to dispel the doubts by which he was disturbed. Plato, in his answer, which, I have just read, dares not explain himself openly on the first principle,[m] being fearful that his letter might miscarry. What

* 270 livres (11*l.* 5s.) [h] Sext. Empir. adv. Gramm. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 271. [i] Diog. Laërt. lib. 3. § 41. [k] Dioscor. ap. Athen. lib. 11. c. 15. p. 407. [l] Plat. Epist. 7. t. iii. p. 341. [m] Id Epist. 2. t. iii. p. 312.

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he adds has greatly astonished me: I shall here give you the substance of it.

" You ask me, son of Dionysius, what is the cause of the evils which afflict the universe. One day, in your garden, beneath the shade of some laurel trees,[n] you told me that you had discovered it. I answered you, that I had been employed all my life in the investigation of this question, and that I had not yet found any person who was able to resolve it. I suspect that, struck with a first ray of light, you have given up yourself to the prosecution of these researches with new ardour, but that, having no fixed principles, you have suffered your reason, without curb or guide, to pursue false appearances. You are not the only one to whom this has happened. All those to whom I have communicated my doctrines have at first been more or less disquieted by similar doubts. I now send you what may assist you to dissipate yours. Archidemus brings you my first answer; you will meditate on it at your leisure, and compare it with those of other philosophers. If new difficulties should occur, Archidemus will return, and, by the time he has made two or three voyages, you will find your doubts disappear.

" But beware not to speak publicly on these subjects, for what some admire with enthusiasm, is to others an object of contempt and ridicule. My opinions, subjected to a long and careful examination, come forth like gold purified in the crucible. I have known ingenuous minds, who, after thirty years'

[n] Plat. Epist. 2. t. iii. p. 313.

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meditation, have at length confessed that they had obtained evidence and certitude, where, during so long a time, they had only found uncertainty and obscurity. But I have already told you so exalted a subject ought only to be treated in private conversation. I have never delivered, nor ever will publish in writing, my real sentiments. I have only given to the world those of Socrates. Adieu! follow my advice, and burn this letter, after having read it several times."

What! the writings of Plato do not contain his real sentiments on the origin of evil! And has he made it a duty to conceal them from the public, when he has so eloquently explained the system of Timæus of Locris? You know well that in that work Socrates does not teach, but only listens.—What then is that mysterious doctrine of which Plato speaks? To which of his disciples has he confided it? Has he ever spoken of it to you? I am lost in a multiplicity of conjectures.

The death of Plato has been the occasion of our suffering another loss, which I feel most sensibly. Aristotle leaves us, on account of some disgust, which I will explain to you at your return. He is gone to reside under the patronage of the eunuch Hermias, whom the king of Persia has appointed governor of the city of Atarnea in Mysia.[o] I regret his friendship, his knowledge, and his conversation. He has promised me to return; but how great is the difference

[o] Diog. Laërt. in Aristot. lib. 5. § 9. Dionys. Halicarn. Epist. ad Amm. c. 5. t. vi. p. 728.

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between enjoyment and expectation! Alas! he was himself used to say, after Pindar, that hope is only the dream of a waking man.[p] I once applauded his definition, but I now wish to find it false.

I am sorry that I have not more carefully collected and treasured in my memory his repartees. Discoursing once concerning friendship, he on a sudden pleasantly exclaimed: "Oh, my friends! friends are not to be found."[m] Some one asking him what was the use of philosophy, he replied: "To teach us to do voluntarily what the fear of the laws would compel us to do."[n] Whence is it, said somebody to him yesterday at my house, that we so unwillingly leave the company of handsome persons? "That," said he, "is the question of a blind man."[o] But you have frequently conversed with him; and know, that, though he possessed more extensive knowledge than any other person in the world, yet his knowledge was perhaps still excelled by his wit.

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF THEMISTOCLES.

The 2d year of the 108th Olympiad.

(From the 8th of July of the year 347, to the 27th of June of the year 346, before Christ.)

LETTER OF CALLIMEDON.

PHILIP, informed of the mirth and pleasantry

[p] Diog. Laërt. in Aristot. lib. 5. § 18. Stob. Serm. 10. p. 581. [m] Phavor. ap. Diod. ibid. in Aristot. lib. 5. § 21. [n] Diog. Laërt. ibid. § 20. [o] Id. ibid.

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that reigns in our society,* has just remitted us a talent,† and invites us to communicate to him the result of each meeting.[p] We shall not neglect to comply with his request. I have proposed to send to him the portraits of some of our ministers and generals, for which I immediately furnished a number of sketches. I will endeavour to recollect them.

Demades[q] had for some time distinguished himself as a common sailor on board our galleys,[r] where he managed the oar with the same strength and dexterity as he now does his arguments and rhetorical figures. He has derived from his former condition of life the honour of having enriched our language with a proverb. *From the oar to the rostrum*, at present signifies the progress of one who has arrived at an unexpected preferment.[s]

He possesses much wit, and especially the style of fashionable pleasantry,[t] though he lives with the lowest class of courtesans.[u] A great number of sallies of wit are attributed to him.[x]‡ Whatever he says seems to come by inspiration; the idea and the expression present themselves at the same instant. He therefore

* This was composed of persons of wit and taste, to the number of sixty, who met, from time to time, to pass humorous decrees on whatever they considered as objects of ridicule. I have spoken of them before. (See Vol. II. Chap. XX.)

† 5400 livres (225*l.*)

[p] Athen. lib. 14. c. 1. p. 614. [q] Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. iv. p. 418. [r] Quintil. lib. 2. c. 17. p. 128. Suid. in Δημαδ. Sext. Emp. adv. Gramm. lib. 2. p. 291. [s] Erasm. Adag. Chil. 3. cent. 4. p. 670. [t] Cicer. Orat. c. 26. t. i. p. 441. [u] Pyth. ap. Athen. lib. 2. p. 44. [x] Demetr. Phal. de Eloc.

‡ See note XVIII. at the end of the volume.

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never takes the trouble to write his discourses,[y] and rarely that of previously thinking on the subject on which he is to speak. Does any unforeseen affair come before the general assembly, on which Demosthenes dares not open his mouth, Demades is called on, and he then speaks with so much eloquence, that we cannot hesitate to rank him above all our orators.[z] He is equally superior to them in other things. He may defy all the people of Athens to get intoxicated so often as himself,[a] and all the kings of the earth to satisfy his avarice with their treasures.[b] As he is very expert in commerce, he will sell himself, even for a number of years, to any one that is willing to purchase him.[c] He said to some person, that when he should give a marriage portion to his daughter, it should be at the expense of foreign powers.[d]

Philocrates is less eloquent, equally voluptuous,[e] and much more intemperate. At table, every thing disappears before him, and he there appears to multiply himself, which has occasioned the poet Eubulus to say, in one of his dramatic pieces: "We have two insatiable guests, Philocrates and Philocrates."[f] He is also one of those men on whose forehead we seem to read, as on the door of a house, these words, written in large characters, *To let: to sell.*[g]

[y] Cicer. de Clar. Orat. c. 9. t. i. p. 343. Quintil. lib. 2. c. 17. p. 129. [z] Theop. ap. Plut. in Demosth. t. i. p. 850. [a] Athen. lib. 2. p. 44. [b] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 755. Id. Apophth. t. ii. p. 188. [c] Dinarch. adv. Demosth. p. 103. [d] Plut. ibid. [e] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 329 et 342. Æschin. ibid. p. 403. [f] Eubul. ap. Athen. lib. 1. c. 7. p. 8. [g] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 310. Id. de Coron. p. 476.

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It is not the same with Demosthenes, who has always displayed an ardent zeal for the good of his country. He is in want of those external accomplishments which might enable him to supplant his rivals and gain the confidence of the people. He will perhaps betray us when he can no longer prevent our being betrayed by others.[h]

His education had been neglected; and he was unacquainted with those arts which might correct his numerous defects.[i] I wish I were able to depict him to you, such as he appeared the first time he ascended the rostrum. Figure to yourself a man with an austere and discontented air, scratching his head, shrugging his shoulders, with a shrill and feeble voice,[k] a difficult respiration, tones that grated on the ear, a barbarous pronunciation, and a style still more barbarous, composed of endless, inexhaustible, unintelligible periods, crowded besides with all the arguments of the schools.[l] He fatigued and disgusted us, and, in return, we hissed and hooted him. He was for some time obliged to retire, but he profited by his disgrace like a man of superior genius. By incredible efforts[m] he corrected some of his defects, and every day now adds a new ray to his glory, which has been laboriously acquired. He must long meditate on his subject, and turn it in his mind in every possible manner, to render his imagination prolific.[n]

[h] Dinarch. adv. Demosth. p. 90. Plut. in Demosth. t. i. p. 857. Id. in X. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 846. [i] Plut. in Demosth. t. i. p. 847. [k] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 420. [l] Plut. ibid. p. 848. [m] Plut. in Demosth. t. i. p. 849. Id in X Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 844. [n] Id. in Demosth. t. i. p. 849.

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His enemies pretend that his works smell of the lamp.[o] Persons of taste think there is something mean in his action,[p] and censure him for employing harsh expressions and absurd metaphors.[q] For my part, I find him as frigid when he attempts to be pleasant[r] as he is ridiculously attentive to his dress. The most delicate lady does not wear finer linen;[s] and this niceness forms a singular contrast to the asperity of his character.[t]

I would not vouch for his probity. In a law-suit, he once wrote for both parties.[u] I mentioned this fact to one of his friends, a man of much wit, who replied, laughing: He was then very young.

His manners, though not of the purest kind, are not indecent. It is said, indeed, that he visits courtesans, that he sometimes dresses himself like them,[x] and that in his youth a single assignation cost him as much as all his pleadings had brought him during a whole year.[y] All this, however, is of little importance. It is added, that he once sold his wife to a young man named Cnosion,[z] which is a more serious accusation. But these are domestic affairs, in which I do not wish to intermeddle.

[o] Plut. in Demosth. t. i. p. 849. Ælian. lib. 7. c. 7. Lucian. in Demosth. Encom. c. 15. t. iii. p. 502. [p] Plut. ibid. p. 851. [q] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 480. Longin. de Sublim. c. 34. [r] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 279. Longin. ibid. Quintil. Instit. lib. 10. c. 1. p. 643. [s] Æschin. ibid. p. 280. [t] Plut. ibid. p. 847 et 886. [u] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 421. Plut. ibid. p. 852 et 887. [x] Plut. X Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 847. [y] Athen. lib. 13. c. 7. p. 593. [z] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 419.

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During the last festivals of Bacchus,[a] in quality of charogus of his tribe, he was at the head of a company of young persons who disputed the prize in dancing. In the midst of the ceremony, Midias, a rich and ridiculous man, gave him a blow on the face, in the presence of a great number of spectators. Demosthenes carried his complaint before a court of justice, and the affair was terminated to the satisfaction of both parties; Midias has given money, and Demosthenes received it. We know now that it only costs three thousand drachmas* to insult the cheek of a choragus.[b]

A short time after he accused one of his cousins of having dangerously wounded him, and showed a cut on his head which he was suspected of having made himself.[c] As he required damages and interest, it was said that the head of Demosthenes was extremely productive.[d]

We may laugh at his self-love, but it is too undisguised to give offence. I was with him the other day in the street, when one of the women who carry water, happening to see him, pointed at him with her finger to show him to another woman; "Look," said she, "there is Demosthenes!"[e] I pretended not to hear her; but he took care to make me remark her.

[a] Demosth. in Mid. p. 603. * 2700 livres (112*l.* 10*s.*)
[b] Æschin. in Ctes. p. 436. Plut. in X Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 844.
[c] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 410. Id. in Ctesiph. p. 435. Suid. in Δημοσθ. [d] Herald. Animad. in Salmas. Observ. c. 10. p. 136.
[e] Cicer. Quæst. Tuscul. lib. 5. c. 36. t. ii. p. 391. Plin. lib. 9. epist. 23. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 9. c. 17.

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Æschines has been accustomed from his youth to speak in public. His mother early introduced him into public life, by taking him with her from house to house to initiate people of the lowest class into the mysteries of Bacchus. He appeared in the street at the head of a chorus of Bacchantes, crowned with fennel and branches of poplar, and performed with them, but with infinite grace, all the extravagant rites of their singular worship. He sang, danced, and shouted, grasping in his hand serpents which he shook over his head. The populace heaped on him their benedictions, and the old women gave him little cakes.[f]

This success fired his ambition. He entered into a company of comedians, but was found only capable of the inferior parts. Notwithstanding the sonorousness of his voice, the public declared against him an eternal war:[g] he therefore quitted this profession, and became clerk in an inferior court, and afterwards minister of state.

His conduct has since been always regular and decent. He possesses wit, taste, politeness, and the knowledge of propriety. His eloquence is distinguished by a happy choice of words, the abundance and clearness of his ideas, and a prodigious facility, for which he is indebted less to art than nature. His style does not want strength, though it has less than that of Demosthenes. He at first dazzles, and after-

[f] Demosth. de Coron. p. 516. [g] Id. ibid. et de Fals. Leg. p. 346.

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wards compels assent;[h] at least this is what I am told by persons who understand these things. He has the weakness to be ashamed of his former condition in life, and the imprudence, at the same time, to remind others of theirs. When he walks in the forum with measured steps, a flowing robe, his head erect, and his cheeks swelled out,[i] whispers are heard on every side: Is not that the petty clerk of a petty court of justice, the son of Tromes the schoolmaster, and Glaucothea, who was before called Empusa?*[k] Was it not he who used to scour the forms of the school when we were school-boys; and who, during the Bacchanalia,[l] shouted, with all his might in the streets, EVOE, SABOE? †

The jealousy which exists between him and Demosthenes is very apparent. They cannot but have perceived it at the first; for those who have the same claims discover each other in an instant. I know not whether Æschines will suffer himself to be corrupted; but those who are so very polished and amiable are generally feeble. I ought to add, however, that he is a very brave man, who has distinguished himself in several battles, and that Phocion has borne testimony to his valour.[m]

Perhaps there is not a more singular character than the man I have last mentioned; I mean

[h] Dionys. Halic. de Veter. Script. Cens. t. v. p. 434. [i] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 343. * That is, *the Hag*, or *Spectre*. [k] Demosth. de Coron. p. 494. [l] Id. ibid. p. 516. † Barbarous words used to invoke Bacchus. [m] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 422.

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Phocion. He seems not to know that he lives in the present age, and in the city of Athens. He is poor, yet is not humiliated by his poverty; he does good, yet never boasts of it; and gives his advice, though he is very certain that it will never be followed. He possesses talents without ambition, and serves the state without views of interest.—At the head of the army, he contents himself with restoring discipline, and beating the enemy. When addressing the assembly, he is equally unmoved by the disapprobation or applause of the multitude. In one of his harangues, he was proposing a plan for the conduct of the approaching campaign, when on a sudden some person interrupted him with the most abusive language.[n] Phocion was silent till the other had ended, and then coolly thus resumed his discourse: "I have spoken to you of the infantry and cavalry; it now remains for me to speak," &c. &c. On another occasion, he was loudly applauded by the people. I happened by chance to be next him: he turned round to me and said, "Did you observe that I committed any egregious blunder?"[o]

We laugh at his singularity and his pleasantries, but we have found an admirable secret to revenge ourselves for his contempt. He is the only general we have left, and we scarcely ever employ him. He is the most upright, and perhaps the most intelligent of our orators, and we listen to him still less. It

[n] Plut. Reip. Gerend. Præcept. t. i. p. 810. [o] Id. in Phoc. t. i. p. 745.

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is true that we cannot make him alter his principles; but, by Heaven! neither shall he induce us to change ours: and surely it shall never be said that with his superannuated virtues, and the rhapsodies of his antique manners, Phocion shall have been able to correct the most polished and amiable people in the world.

There is Chares, on the other hand, who by his example teaches our youth to make an open profession of corruption.[p] He is the greatest knave and the most unskilful of all our generals, yet he enjoys the greatest reputation.[q] He has sheltered himself under the protection of Demosthenes, and some other orators, and gives entertainments to the people. Is a fleet to be fitted out, Chares must have the command and entire disposal of it. He is directed to sail to one coast, and he sails to another. Instead of defending our possessions, he joins with pirates, and in concert with them lays the islands under contribution, and seizes every vessel he meets in his way. Within a few years, he has occasioned the loss of more than a hundred ships, and has dissipated fifteen hundred talents,* in expeditions of no utility to the state, but very lucrative to himself and his principal officers. Sometimes he does not deign to send us any account where he is, or what he is doing; but we obtain information in despite of him; and it is not long since we sent out a swift-sailing

[p] Aristot. Rhet. lib. 1. c. 15. t. ii. p. 544. [q] Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 12. c. 8. p. 532. * 8,100,000 livres (337,500*l.*)

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vessel, with orders to cruise the seas, and endeavour to discover what was become of the fleet and the general.

LETTER OF NICETAS.

The Phocians, exhausted by a war which has lasted almost ten years, have implored our assistance. They consent to give up Thronium, Nicæa, and Alpenus, strong towns situate at the entrance of the pass of Thermopylæ. Proxenus, who commands our fleet on the neighbouring coasts, has advanced to take possession of them. He will place garrisons in them, and Philip must henceforth despair of forcing the defile.

We have resolved at the same time to fit out another fleet of fifty ships. The flower of our youth are ready to march; we have enrolled all those who have not passed their thirtieth year, and we learn that Archidamus, king of Lacedæmon, has offered to the Phocians the whole force of that republic.[s] War is inevitable, and the destruction of Philip no less so.

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

Our most accomplished Athenian ladies are jealous of the praises you bestow on the wife and the sister of Arsames, and our ablest politicians agree that we have need of a statesman of equal

[r] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 406. Demosth. in Olynth. 3. p. 38. [s] Æschin. ibid. p. 416.

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genius with the Persian minister to oppose the abilities of Philip. Every place here lately resounded with the din of arms, but a word from that prince has made them drop from our hands.

During the siege of Olynthus, he had, it is said, more than once signified a wish to continue on good terms with us.[t] On this news, which the people received with transport, it was resolved to open a negociation, which was suspended by various obstacles. He took Olynthus, and we breathed only war and vengeance; but soon after two of our actors, Aristodemus and Neoptolemus, whom the king treats with so much kindness, assured us, on their return, that he continued in his former dispositions,[u] and immediately we thought of nothing but peace.

We have just sent to Macedon ten deputies, all men of distinguished abilities: Ctesiphon, Aristodemus, Iatrocles, Cimon, and Nausicles, who have for their associates Dercyllus, Phrynon, Philocrates, Æschines, and Demosthenes.[x] To these we must add Aglaocreon of Tenedos, who has the care of the interests of our allies. They are to settle with Philip the most important articles of the peace, and engage him to send plenipotentiaries finally to conclude it here.

I am unable to understand our conduct. This prince lets fall a few vague, and perhaps insidious,

[t] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 397. Leg. p. 291. Demosth. ibid. p. 295. Argum. Orat. ibid. p. 291.

[u] Argum. Orat. de Fals.

[x] Æschin. ibid. p. 398.

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protestations of friendship to us; and immediately, without listening to men of wisdom and experience, who distrust his intentions, without waiting for the return of the deputies we have sent to the different states of Greece, to engage them to unite against the common enemy, we intermit our preparations, and make advances which he will abuse if he accedes to them, and of which a refusal will be humiliating to us. To obtain his favour, our deputies must have the good fortune to be agreeable to him. The actor Aristodemus had entered into engagements with some cities which had intended to give theatrical exhibitions; and a deputation was therefore sent, in the name of the senate, most earnestly to solicit that Aristodemus might be excused from paying the forfeiture he must incur, because the republic had need of his services in Macedonia. And Demosthenes too, who had in his harangues treated Philip with so much haughtiness and contempt, was the proposer of this decree.[y]

LETTER OF CALLIMEDON.

Our ambassadors have made incredible dispatch;[z] they are already returned. They appear to act in concert; but Demosthenes is not satisfied with his colleagues, who, on their side, complain of him. I shall relate to you some anecdotes relative to their expedition, which I learned yesterday at an entertainment, at which the principal of them, Ctesiphon,

[y] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 398. [z] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 318.

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Æschines, Aristodemus, and Philocrates, were present.

I ought first to tell you, that during their journey they had not a little to endure from the vanity of Demosthenes;[a] but they were patient. Insupportable people are sometimes so easily supported in society! But what gave them the greatest disturbance was the genius and abilities of Philip. They felt they were not able to contend with him in politics. Every day they distributed their parts, and disposed their attacks. It was determined that the eldest of them should first mount to the assault, and Demosthenes, as the youngest, bring up the rear. He promised to open the inexhaustible sources of his eloquence: "Fear not Philip," added he: "I will so completely *sew up* his mouth,[b] that he shall be forced to restore to us Amphipolis."

When they were admitted to an audience of the king, Ctesiphon and the others expressed themselves in a few words;[c] Æschines, eloquently and diffusively; Demosthenes——but I will endeavour to give you his picture. He rose half dead with fear. He was not now to ascend the rostrum of Athens, and harangue that multitude of artisans who compose our assemblies. Philip was surrounded by his courtiers, the greater part of whom were men of wit and abilities: among others were Python of Byzantium, who values himself on writing elegantly; and Leosthenes, whom we have banished, and who it is

[a] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 318. [b] Id. ibid. p. 398. [c] Id. de Fals. Leg. p. 399.

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said is one of the greatest orators in Greece.[d] All had heard speak of the magnificent promises of Demosthenes, and watched for their fulfilment with an attention which completed his embarrassment. He tremblingly stammered an obscure exordium, lost his recollection, grew more and more confused, and at last was totally unable to proceed. The king in vain endeavoured to inspire him with more confidence: he rose only to fall again; and when Philip had entertained himself for some moments with his silence, the herald gave notice to our deputies to retire.[e]

Demosthenes ought to have been the first to laugh at this accident; but, instead of that, he began the attack on Æschines, whom he bitterly reproached for having spoken to the king with too much freedom, and thus brought on the republic a war which it was in no condition to support.—Æschines was about to reply, when they were again introduced into the royal presence. When they were seated, Philip discussed their claims in order, answered their complaints, and especially dwelt on the discourse of Æschines, to whom he frequently addressed himself in particular; then assuming an air of affability and kindness, he testified the most sincere desire to conclude the peace.

During all this time, Demosthenes, with all the inquietude of a courtier threatened with disgrace, had recourse to every expedient to attract the notice

[d] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 415. [e] Id. ibid. p. 401.

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of the king; but he could not obtain from him a single word, nor even a look.

He left the conference with a dissatisfaction that produced the most extravagant scenes. He was like a child spoiled by the indulgence of his parents, and unexpectedly mortified by the success of his companions. The storm lasted several days. He at last perceived that ill-humour availed but little, and endeavoured to become more social with the other deputies. They were then on their return home; and, taking them separately, he promised them his protection in the popular assembly. To one he said: I will re-establish your fortune. To another: I will procure for you the command of the army. With Æschines he employed all his address: he soothed the jealousy, and bestowed unlimited applause on the merit of his rival. His praises must have been very extravagant, since Æschines pretends they were tiresome and disgusting even to himself.

One evening, in I know not what city of Thessaly, he for the first time thought proper to be pleasant on his own adventure. He added, that no person under heaven possessed the powers of eloquence equal to Philip. What most astonished me, replied Æschines, was the amazing exactness with which he recapitulated all that we had said. And I, replied Ctesiphon, though I am advanced in years, never in my life saw a man so polite and agreeable. Demosthenes clapped his hands, and applauded every word. Excellent! cried he; but you would not venture to hold

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the same language in the presence of the people. Why should we not? replied his companions. He doubted, they insisted; he required their promise, and they gave it.[f]

It is not known what use he intends to make of this; but we shall see at the first meeting of the assembly. Our whole society intends to be present, for all this cannot well fail to produce some ridiculous scene; and if Demosthenes has reserved his follies for Macedon, I will never forgive him so long as I live.

What alarms me is, that he has conducted himself extremely well at the meeting of the senate. The letter of Philip having been remitted to that assembly, Demosthenes has congratulated the republic on having confided its interests to deputies equally deserving such a trust by their eloquence and their probity. He has proposed to decree them a crown of olive, and to invite them the next day to an entertainment in the Prytaneum. The decree of the senate is conformable to these proposals.[g]

I shall not seal my letter till after the general assembly.

I have this moment left it. Demosthenes has done wonders. The deputies, each in their turn, related the different circumstances of their embassy. Æschines had said a word of the eloquence of Philip, and his happy memory; Ctesiphon, of his beauty and his figure, the embellishments of his mind, and his

[f] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 402. [g] Id. ibid.

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convivial gaiety. They all received their applauses, when Demosthenes ascended the rostrum in a more serious and significant manner than usual. After having a long time scratched his forehead, for he always begins so: "I cannot but admire," said he, "both those who speak, and those who hear. How is it possible for men to dwell on such trifles, when a matter of so great moment awaits their consideration! I shall now likewise proceed to lay before you an account of the embassy. Let the decree passed by this assembly previous to our departure, and the letter which the king of Macedon has returned by us, be read." After the reading of these, he added: "Such were our instructions, and we have fulfilled them. You have heard the answer of Philip: it now only remains for us to deliberate on that answer."[h]

These words excited a kind of murmur in the assembly. "What precision, what address!" said some: "What envy, what malignity!" said others. For my part, I laughed heartily at the embarrassment visible in the countenance of Ctesiphon and Æschines. Without, however, giving them time to breathe, he resumed his discourse as follows: "You have heard great encomiums bestowed on the eloquence and memory of Philip; any other person in possession of the same power would obtain the same praises. His other excellent qualities have likewise been extolled; but he has not a finer countenance than the actor Aristodemus, nor can he drink better than Philocrates. Æschines has told you, that he had left to me, at

[h] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 403.

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least in part, the discussion of our rights to Amphipolis; but that orator will not leave either to you or me an opportunity of speaking. These, however, are trifles unworthy our notice: I shall proceed to propose a decree. The herald of Philip is arrived, and his ambassadors will soon follow. I move that permission may be granted to treat with them, and that the Prytanes be directed to convoke an assembly, which shall be held two days successively, and in which we may deliberate on the peace and the alliance. I am likewise of opinion, that you should pass a vote of approbation and praise of the conduct of your deputies, if they deserve it; and that they should be invited to sup to-morrow in the Prytaneum."[i] This decree has passed almost unanimously, and the orator has re-assumed his superiority.

I have a great opinion of Demosthenes; but it is not sufficient to possess great abilities, we ought not to be ridiculous. There subsists between celebrated men and our society a kind of tacit convention; we give them our esteem, and they ought to indulge us in laughing at their follies.

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

I SEND you the journal of what has passed in our assemblies till the conclusion of the peace.

*The 8th of Elaphebolion, the day of the festival of Æsculapius.** The Prytanes met, and, conformably

[i] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 403. * The 8th of this month in the year in question corresponded to the 8th of March of the year 346 before Christ.

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to the decree of the people, appointed two general assemblies to deliberate on the peace. They will be held on the 18th and 19th.[k]

*The 12th of Elaphebolion, the first day of the festivals of Bacchus.** Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus, are arrived. They come on the part of Philip to conclude the treaty, and to receive the oath by which it is to be sanctioned.[l]

Antipater is, next to Philip, the most able politician in Greece. Active and indefatigable, he extends his vigilance to almost every part of the administration. The king has often said: We may securely sleep, or resign ourselves to our pleasures, for Antipater watches for us.[m]

Parmenio, beloved by the sovereign, and still more by the soldiers,[n] has already signalised himself by a great number of exploits: hewould be the first general in Greece, if Philip did not exist. From the abilities of these two deputies, you may judge of the merit of Eurylochus, their associate.

The 15th of Elaphebolion.† The ambassadors regularly attend at the shows exhibited at this festival. Demosthenes has caused the senate to assign them a distinguished place.[o] He has taken care that cushions and purple carpets shall be prepared for

[k] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 403 et 404. Id. in Ctesiph. p. 438. * The 12th of March of the same year. [l] Argum. Orat. de Fals. Leg. ap. Demosth. p. 291. Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 304. [m] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 179. [n] Quint. Curt. lib. 4. c. 13. † The 15th of March of the year 346 before Christ. [o] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 403 et 412. Demosth. de Coron. p. 477.

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them. At the break of day, he conducts them himself to the theatre; and has assigned them apartments in his own house. Many people are offended at his paying them such obsequious attention, and consider it as a meanness.[p] They say that, having been unable to gain the favour of Philip while in Macedon, he now wishes at least to show that he was deserving of it.

*The 18th of Elaphebolion.** The assembly has met; but, before I proceed to the deliberations, it will be proper to state to you the principal objects which were to be discussed.

The possession of Amphipolis is the first source of our differences with Philip.[q] This city appertains to us; he has seized on it, and we demand that it shall be restored.

He has declared war against some of our allies: it would be both shameful and dangerous for us to abandon them. Of this number are the cities of the Thracian Chersonesus, and those of Phocis. King Cotys had taken from us the former.[r]—His son Cersobleptes restored them to us after having held them a few months;[s] but we have not yet taken possession. It is to our interest to preserve them, becaue they will give security to our navigation in the Hellespont, and our commerce in the Euxine sea. Neither ought we to refuse our protection to the latter, be-

[p] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 440. * The 18th of March.
[q] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 406. [r] Demosth. adv. Aristocr. p. 742, 746, &c. [s] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 434. [s] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 305. Id. adv. Aristocr. p. 742. Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 406.

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cause they defend the pass of Thermopylæ, and are the bulwark of Attica by land, as those of Thrace are on the side of the sea.[t]

When our deputies took leave of the king, he proceeded towards Thrace; but he promised them not to attack Cersobleptes during the negotiations for peace.[u] We are not equally at our ease with respect to the Phocians. The ambassadors of Philip have declared that he refuses to comprehend them in the treaty; but his partisans assure us that, if he has not yet openly made known his intentions in their favour, it is only that he may not too precipitately give offence to the Thebans and Thessalians, their enemies.[x]

He has signified, also, that it is his intention to exclude from the treaty the inhabitants of Halus in Thessaly, who are in alliance with us, and whom he now besieges, in revenge for their incursions on the people of Pharsalos, who are under his protection.[y]

I pass over other articles of less importance.

The proceedings of the assembly of this day began by reading the decree which the agents of our allies had taken the precaution to procure.[z] It contained in substance, "that the people of Athens deliberating on a peace with Philip, the allies have resolved that, after the ambassadors sent by the Athenians to the different states of Greece shall

[t] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 321. [u] Æschin. ibid. p. 408. [x] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 344. [y] Id. ibid. p. 299. Ulpian. ibid. p. 356. [z] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 404. Id. in Ctesiph. p. 438.

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have returned, and made their report in presence of the Athenians and the allies, the Prytanes shall convoke two assemblies to consider on the peace; and the allies previously engage to ratify whatever may be determined on in those assemblies; and that three months shall be granted to any other of the Grecian states who shall be willing to accede to the treaty."

After this resolution had been read, Philocrates proposed a decree, one of the articles of which formally excluded from the treaty the inhabitants of Halus and the Phocians. The people blushed at the proposal,[a] and the minds of the assembly became heated and agitated. Some of our orators rejected all modes of accommodation, and exhorted us to cast our eyes on the monuments of our victories and the tombs of our forefathers. "Let us emulate the courage of our ancestors," replied Æschines, "when they defended their country against the innumerable hosts of the Persians: but let us not imitate their conduct when they imprudently sent forces into Sicily to the succour of the Leontines their allies."[b] He concluded for peace: the orators who followed him did the same; and the decree passed.

While the conditions of the treaty were in discussion, letters were brought from our general Proxenus, whom we had commissioned to take possession of some strong places at the entrance of the pass of Thermopylæ. These places had been offered to us

[a] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 296 et 317. [b] Id. ibid. p. 296 et 342. Æschin. ibid. p. 406.

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by the Phocians; but, in the mean time, some dissensions taking place among them, the predominating party had refused to give them up to Proxenus. Such was the substance of these letters.[c]

We have lamented the blind obstinacy of the Phocians, but we have not abandoned them. The article in the decree of Philocrates, by which they were excluded from the treaty, has been erased: and in its stead it has been inserted, that Athens stipulates in her own name, and in the name of all her allies.[d]

When the assembly rose, every one said that a peace indeed should be concluded with Philip; but it did not seem proper that we should contract an alliance with him, till the deputies which had been sent to the different states of Greece should be returned.[e]

*The 19th of Elaphebolion.** Demosthenes having secured the rostrum, declared, that all the proceedings of the day before must be utterly ineffectual, unless the Macedonian ambassadors could be persuaded to concur: that we ought not to *rend* the alliance from the peace (for that was the expression we employed), nor to wait the dilatory proceedings of the other states of Greece, which should determine each for itself for peace or war. The ambassadors from Macedon were present. Antipater

[c] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 416. [d] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 317. [e] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 439. * The 19th of March of the year 346 before Christ.

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answered according as had been concerted between him and Demosthenes, who now addressed his discourse to him.[f] The matter has not been profoundly investigated. It had been enacted, by a previous decree, that, in the first assembly, every citizen might give his opinion on the subjects proposed for deliberation; but that on the next day the presidents should take the suffrages in order: they have accordingly taken them, and we have at once made a treaty of peace and a treaty of alliance.[g]

The principal articles of this treaty are as follow: We cede to Philip our claims to Amphipolis;[h] but we are given to expect in return either the island of Eubœa, of which he may in some manner dispose, or the city of Oropus, which the Thebans have taken from us.[i] We flatter ourselves, likewise, that he will leave us in the possession of the Thracian Chersonesus.[k] We have comprehended all our allies in the treaty, and thus protect the king of Thrace, the people of Halus, and the Phocians. We guarantee to Philip all that he at present possesses, and we engage to consider as enemies all who shall make attempts to deprive him of them.[l]

Objects so important ought to have been discussed and settled in a general assembly of the Grecian states.[m] It was the wish of our allies that such an

[f] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 439. [g] Id. de Fals. Leg. p. 405. [h] Demosth. de Pace, p. 63. Lit. Phil. ap. Demosth. p. 117. [i] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 297 et 326. Id. de Pace, p. 61. [k] Id. de Fals. Leg. p. 305. [l] Id. ibid. p. 315. [m] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 437.

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assembly should be convened, and we had determined to convoke it;[n] but the affair suddenly took a rapid turn, and every thing was concluded with precipitation. Philip had written to us, that if we would enter into an alliance with him, he would explain himself more clearly with respect to the cessions he could make to us.[o] This vague promise has dazzled the people, and the desire of pleasing the king of Macedon seduced our orators. Though his ambassadors have entered into no engagements,[p] we have hastened to take the oath to them, and to name deputies, who are to depart from Macedon to receive that of the king.[q]

These are in number ten, without enumerating the deputy of our allies.[r] Some of them went on the former embassy; among whom are Demosthenes and Æschines. Their instructions contain, among other things, that the treaty shall extend to the allies of Athens and those of Philip; that the deputies shall repair to that prince to receive the ratificatiou of it; that they shall avoid all particular conference with him; that they shall demand the Athenians whom he holds in chains to be set at liberty; that in each of the cities which are in alliance with him, they shall receive the oath of those who are at the head of the government; and that they shall be empowered to act according to circumstances, and as they shall judge most conducive to the interests of

[n] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 438. [o] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 300. [p] Id. ibid. p. 304. [q] Id. de Coron. p. 477. [r] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 410.

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the republic.[s] The senate is directed to hasten their departure.[t]

*The 25th of Elaphebolion.** The agents or representatives of some of our allies have this day taken the oath, in presence of the ambassadors of Philip.[u]

The 3d of Munychion.† It is the interest of Philip to defer the ratification of the treaty, and ours to hasten it; for we have suspended all our preparations, and he has never been so active. He presumes with reason that we shall not dispute with him the possession of those places which he may conquer in the interim. Demosthenes, however, has penetrated his designs, and has prevailed on the senate, of which he is a member, to pass a decree that our ambassadors shall set out for Macedon as soon as possible.[x] They will depart without delay.

The 15th of Thargelion.‡ Philip has not yet signed the treaty: our ambassadors have made no extraordinary haste to come up with him; they are in Macedon, and he is in Thrace. Notwithstanding he had given his word not to enter the territories of king Cersobleptes, he has seized on one part of them, and is making preparations to possess himself of the other; by which acquisition he will considerably increase his power and revenues: for besides that

[s] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 337. Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 411. [t] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 317. * The 25th of March of the year 346 before Christ. [u] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 488. Id. in Ctesiph. p. 439. † The 1st of April of the same year. [x] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 316 et 317. ‡ The 13th of May of the same year.

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the country is very rich and populous, the duties that the king of Thrace collects in his ports[y] amount annually to two hundred talents.* It would have been easy for us to have prevented this conquest. Our ambassadors might have reached the Hellespont in less than ten days, or, perhaps, in less than three or four:[z] they would have found Philip in the neighbourhood, and might have offered him the alternative of accepting or refusing the conditions of peace. In the former case, he must have engaged not to invade the territories of our allies, among whom the king of Thrace would have been included; and in the latter, our army, in conjunction with that of the Phocians, would have stopped his progress at Thermopylæ;[a] our fleets, masters of the seas, would have prevented him from making his descent on Attica; we should have shut against him our ports, and, rather than have suffered the trade of his subjects to be ruined, he would have paid a proper respect to our claims and our rights.

Such was the plan of Demosthenes, who recommended that the ambassadors should go by sea; but Æschines, Philocrates, and the greater part of them, preferred going by land, and journeying by short stages, so that they have been three-and-twenty days in going from Athens to Pella, the capital of Macedonia.[b] When they had arrived, they might immediately have repaired to the camp of Philip,

[y] Demosth. in Aristocr. p. 743.
[z] Demosth. de Coron. p. 477.
[a] Id. de Fals. Leg. p. 316.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 317.
* 1,080,000 livres (45,000*l.*)

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or have gone to the different cities to receive the oath of the allies; instead of which they have determined quietly to remain at Pella till his expedition shall be terminated.

On his return he will include his new acquisitions among the possessions which we have guarantied to him; and if we should allege that his seizure of the territories of Cersobleptes is an infraction of the treaty, he will reply, that, at the time he made this conquest, he had not yet seen our ambassadors, nor ratified the treaty which was to limit the progress of his arms.[c]

In the mean time, the Thebans having implored his assistance against the Phocians, not satisfied with sending them troops,[d] he has seized this opportunity to assemble in his capital the deputies of the principal cities of Greece. His pretext for this convention is that the war between the Thebans and the Phocians may be terminated; but his real object, to hold Greece inactive till he shall have executed the projects he has formed.

*The 13th of Scirophorion.** Our ambassadors have at length returned: they will give an account of their embassy to the senate on the day after to-morrow, and on the next day to the assembly of the people.[e]

The 15th of Scirophorion.† If we believe Demos-

[c] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 317. Ulpian. de Fals. Leg. p. 377. [d] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 455. Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 411. * The 9th of June of the year 346 before Christ. [e] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 296 et 302. † The 11th of June.

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thenes, nothing can be conceived more shameful and criminal than the conduct of our ambassadors. He accuses them of having sold themselves to Philip, and betrayed the republic and her allies. He earnestly pressed them to repair immediately to Philip; but they obstinately persisted in waiting for him at Pella for seven-and-twenty days, and did not see him till fifty days after their departure from Athens.[f]

The king of Macedon, on his return, found the deputies of the first cities of Greece assembled in his capital, alarmed at his new conquests, and still more disquieted at the design he manifested continually to approach Thermopylæ.[g] All were ignorant of, and endeavoured to discover, his real views. The courtiers of the king said to some of our ambassadors, that the cities of Bœötia would be restored to their rights, and that hence we might conclude that Thebes was threatened. The ambassadors from Lacedæmon credited this report, and, joining with ours, pressed Philip to execute his project. The Thessalians, however, said that the expedition was intended against them alone.

While the deputies were alternately agitated by their hopes and fears, Philip employed to gain them over sometimes presents,[h] which seemed to be only testimonies of esteem, and sometimes caresses, which might be taken for the overflowings of friendship. Æschines and Philocrates are suspected not to have been insensible to these two modes of seduction.

[f] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 317. [g] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 416. [h] Demosth. ibid. p. 318.

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On the day of public audience, the ambassadors were made to wait, for the king was not risen; and when they murmured, Parmenio said to them: "Be not surprised that Philip sleeps while you wake, for he watched while you slept."[i] At length he appeared, and each in turn addressed him on the subject of their mission.[k] Æschines enlarged on the resolution which the king had taken to put an end to the war of the Phocians.—He conjured him, when he should be at Delphi, to restore liberty to the cities of Bœötia, and to re-establish those which the Thebans had destroyed; he recommended to him not indiscriminately to deliver up to the latter people the wretched inhabitants of Phocis, but to submit the sentence of those who had profaned the temple and treasury of Apollo to the determination of the Amphictyonic states, who had always possessed the right to punish such kinds of crimes.

Philip did not explain himself openly with respect to these demands. He dismissed the other deputies, and departed with ours for Thessaly; and it was only in an inn in the city of Pheræ that he signed the treaty which he swore to observe.[l] He refused to include in it the Phocians, that he might not violate the oath he had sworn to the Thessalians and Thebans:[m] but he gave promises and a letter. Our ambassadors took their leave, and the troops of the king advanced towards Thermopylæ.

The senate met this morning, and the hall was

[i] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 179. [k] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 412. [l] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 317. [m] Id. ibid. p. 300 et 343. Ulpian. p. 357.

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filled with people.[n] Demosthenes has endeavoured to prove that his colleagues have acted contrary to their instructions, that they are sold to Philip, and that our only resource is to fly to the succour of the Phocians, and to seize on the pass of Thermopylæ.[o]

The letter of the king was insufficient to calm the minds of the people: "I have taken the oath," says he, "in the presence of your ambassadors; you will see that it contains the names of such of my allies as were present; and I shall send you the oath of the others when it shall have been taken."[p] A little lower he adds: "Your ambassadors would have gone to the cities of our allies, to have received their oaths; but I have kept them with me, because I had need of them, to reconcile the people of Halus with those of Pharsalos."[q]

The letter does not say a word of the Phocians, nor of the hopes which were held out to us when we concluded the peace. He then signified to us, that if we would consent to enter into an alliance with him, he would explain himself more clearly with respect to the services which it was in his power to render us. But in his last letter he coldly says, that he does not know in what he can oblige us.[r] The senate has indignantly passed a decree conformable to the advice of Demosthenes; it has not voted eulogies to the ambassadors, nor invited them to an entertainment in the prytaneum,—a tacit but severe censure, which none of our deputies

[n] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 296.
[o] Id. Philip. 2. p. 67.
[p] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 415.
[q] Demosth. ibid. p. 299.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 300.

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have before received,[s] and which must, no doubt, prejudice the people against Æschines and his adherents.

LETTER OF CALLIMEDON.

The 16th of Scirophorion.[*t] I am now at the house of the grave Apollodorus; I came to visit him while he was writing to you, and have snatched the pen from his hands to continue his journal.

I now know my Demosthenes by rote. Would you know what a vigorous and sublime genius can produce, make him mount the rostrum; but would you see a man completely awkward, embarrassed, and unpolished, you have only to convey him to the court of Macedon. When our deputies appeared a second time before Philip, he was in haste to speak first, and began with invectives against his colleagues, which were followed by a long display of the services he had rendered that prince, and the tiresome reading of the decrees he had caused to be passed to accelerate the peace; to which succeeded a long account of his attention to lodge the ambassadors from Macedon in his own house, to procure them good cushions at the theatre, to choose for them three teams of mules when they left Athens, and to accompany them himself on horseback; and all this openly, in despite of the envious, with the sole intention to please the monarch. His colleagues covered their faces to hide their blushes at such

[s] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 298. [*] The 12th of June of the year 346 before Christ. [t] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 302.

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absurdity, while he still continued, "I have not spoken of your beauty, it is the merit of a woman; nor of your memory, it is that of a rhetorician; nor your talent for drinking, it is that of a sponge." In a word, he harangued in this strange manner so long, that at last every body burst into a laugh.[u]

I have another scene to describe to you. I am just come from the general assembly. It was expected that the debates would be violent and interesting. Our ambassadors cannot agree concerning the answer of Philip, though this was the grand object of their embassy. Æschines has spoken of the innumerable advantages which the king wishes to grant us:[x] he has particularised some, and explained himself concerning others in half words, like a profound politician, and a man honoured with the confidence of the king, and alone entrusted with his secrets. After having given us a high idea of his capacity, he gravely came down from the rostrum, which Demosthenes immediately ascended, and absolutely denied all that the other had affirmed. Æschines and Philocrates, however, had placed themselves on each side of him, and interrupted him at every sentence by exclamations or pleasantries. The multitude did the same. "Since you are afraid," said Demosthenes, "that I should destroy your hopes, I enter my protest against these fallacious promises, and retire." — "Not so fast," replied Æschines; "stop one moment, and at least declare that, for the future, you will not

[u] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 412. [x] Demosth. ibid. p. 297.

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attribute to yourself the success of your colleagues." —"No, no," replied Demosthenes, with a sarcastic smile, "I will never do you that injustice." Philocrates then said: "Athenians, be not surprised that Demosthenes and I are not of the same opinion; he drinks only water, and I only wine." These words occasioned a roar of laughter,[y] and Philocrates remained master of the field.

Apollodorus will inform you of the catastrophe of this farce, for our assembly is now merely a comic scene, and our orators are only stage-players, who declaim with virulence against each other. It is said that on this occasion some of them have carried that privilege a little too far. Of this I know nothing; but I clearly see, that Philip laughs at them, that they dupe the people, and that the wisest part we can take is to laugh both at the people and at those who govern them.

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

I SHALL now add what I think wanting to the narrative of the mad-brained Callimedon.

The people were alarmed at the arrival of Philip at Thermopylæ.[z] Should this prince join the Thebans our enemies, and destroy the Phocians our allies, what hope would remain to the republic? Æschines has pleged himself for the favourable dispositions of the king, and the safety of Phocis. In two or three

[y] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 300. [z] Id. de Coron. p. 478.

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days, he affirms, without leaving our homes, without being obliged to have recourse to arms, we shall learn that the city of Thebes is besieged, that Bœötia is free, and that Platæa and Thespiæ, which have been demolished by the Thebans, are rebuilding. Sentence will be pronounced on the sacrilege committed against the temple of Apollo by the tribunal of the Amphictyons; and the crime of a few individuals will no longer be imputed to the whole nation of the Phocians. We give up Amphipolis; but for this sacrifice we shall receive a sufficient indemnification."

After this harangue, the people, intoxicated with hope and joy, refused to hear Demosthenes, and Philocrates proposed a decree which passed without opposition. It contains eulogiums on Philip, a strict alliance with his posterity, and several other articles, of which the following is the most important: "If the Phocians do not give up the temple of Delphi to the Amphictyons, the Athenians will cause their troops to march against them."[b]

This resolution taken, new deputies have been chosen, who are to repair to Philip, and superintend the execution of his promises. Demosthenes has excused himself; Æschines has pretended illness, and others have been immediately appointed in their stead. Stephanus, Dercyllus, and the rest, will depart directly;[c] and in a few days we shall know whether the storm has fallen on our friends or our enemies, on the Phocians or the Thebans.

[a] Demosth. de Coron. p. 478. Id de Fals. Leg. p. 297. Id. de Pace, p. 60. [b] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 301. [c] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 312. Æschin. ibid. p. 417.

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*The 27th of Scirophorion.** The ruin of Phocis and its inhabitants is complete. The general assembly was held this day at the Piræus, on the subject of our arsenals.[d] Dercyllus, one of our deputies, has suddenly returned. He had learned at Chalcis in Eubœa, that, a few days before, the Phocians had submitted to Philip, who is preparing to deliver them into the hands of the Thebans. It is impossible that I should describe the grief, consternation, and terror, which have seized on all minds.

The 28th of Scirophorion.† We are in an agitation, which the conviction of our feebleness renders insupportable. The generals, with the consent of the senate, have convened an extraordinary assembly, which has passed a decree to remove, as soon as possible from the country, the women, children, and all kinds of movable effects; those which are within one hundred and twenty stadia‡ to be conveyed to the city, and the Piræus; and those beyond that distance to Eleusis, Phyle, Aphidna, Rhamnus, and Sunium. It is likewise enacted, that the walls of Athens, and other places of strength, shall be repaired, and that sacrifices shall be offered to Hercules, as is our custom in times of public calamity.[e]

The 30th of Scirophorion.§ The following are the particulars of the misfortune of the Phocians. At the very time when Æschines and Philocrates were

* The 23d of June of the year 346 before Christ. [d] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 302 et 312. † The 24th of June. ‡ About four leagues and a half. [e] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 312. Id. de Coron. p. 478. § The 26th of June.

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making us such magnificent promises on the part of Philip, he had already passed the straits of Thermopylæ.[f] The Phocians, uncertain of his real designs, and fluctuating between fear and hope, could not resolve to seize that important post. They occupied the places which are at the entrance of the defile. The king sought to treat with them: they mistrusted his intentions, and wished to know ours; and soon after receiving advice by deputies, which we had dispatched to them,[g] of what had passed in our assembly of the 16th of this month,* they were persuaded that Philip, acting in concert with us, meaned in reality to attack the Thebans, and no longer thought of defending themselves.[h] Phalæcus, their general, surrendered to him Nicæa, and the fortresses in the environs of Thermopylæ, and obtained permission to retire into Phocis, with the eight thousand men under his command.[i]—At this news, the Lacedæmonians, who were marching, under the conduct of Archidamus, to the assistance of the Phocians, again returned quietly towards Peloponnesus;[ii] and Philip, without effort, without opposition, without losing a single man, may now decide on the fate of a people who for ten years have resisted all the attacks of the Thebans and the Thessalians, obstinately bent on their destruction. This is now, no doubt, determined: Philip has promised, and owes it to his allies: he will believe like-

[f] Demosth. de Coron. p. 478. [g] Id. de Fals. Leg. p. 302.
* The 12th of June. [h] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 305.
[i] Æschin. ibid. p. 417. Diod. lib. 16. p. 455. [ii] Demosth. ibid. p. 301 et 305.

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wise that it is to his interest. He will treat the Phocians as wretches guilty of sacrilege; and if he should exercise cruelty towards them, he will be condemned indeed by a small number of sages, but every where adored by the multitude.

How completely has he deceived us! or rather how obstinately have we persisted in the resolution to be deceived! When he made our ambassadors wait so long at Pella, was it not manifest that he wished to finish his expedition in Thrace without interruption? When he kept them with him, after having dismissed the others, was it not clear that his intention was to complete his preparations, and prevent us from continuing ours? When he sent them back with words which promised every thing, and a letter that promised nothing, was it not demonstrated that he had entered into no engagement with us?

I had forgotten to tell you, that in this letter he proposed to us to cause our troops to advance, and, in concert with him, terminate the war of the Phocians;[k] but he knew well that this letter would not be delivered to us till after he should be master of Phocis.

We have at present no other resource than the indulgence or pity of this prince. The pity!—Ye manes of Themistocles and Aristides! By entering into an alliance with him, and hastily concluding a peace, at a time when we invited the other states of

[k] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 301. Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 416.

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Greece to take arms, we have lost our possessions and our allies.[l] To whom can we now address ourselves? All the north of Greece is devoted to Philip. In Peloponnesus, Elis, Arcadia, and Argolis, filled with his partisans,[m] will not, any more than the other states of that country, pardon our alliance with the Lacedæmonians;[n] and the latter people, notwithstanding the restless ardour of Archidamus their king, prefer peace to war. On our side, when I view the state of our navy, our army, and finances, I only behold the shattered remains of a once formidable power.

A general outcry has been raised against our deputies. They are very culpable if they have betrayed us, and very unfortunate if they are innocent. I asked Æschines why they staid in Macedon. He answered: Because we had no orders to go farther.[o] I likewise asked him why he had flattered us with such specious but false hopes. He replied: I have related what I was told, and what I saw, as I was told it and as I saw it.[p]—This orator, when he heard of the progress of Philip, immediately set out to join the third deputation which we have sent to that prince, though a few days before he had declined being one of the deputies.[q]

[l] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 315. [m] Id. ibid. p. 334. [n] Id. de Pace, p. 62. [o] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 410. [p] Id. ibid. p. 407. [q] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 312.

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IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF ARCHIAS.

The third year of the 108th Olympiad.

(*From the 27th of June of the year 346, to the 15th of July of the year 345, before Christ.*)

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

*The 7th of Metagitnion.** It is yet permitted us to be free. Philip will not turn his arms against us: he has hitherto been occupied by the affairs of Phocis, and other motives will soon oblige him to return to Macedon.

As soon as he arrived at Delphi, he assembled the council of the Amphictyons, in order to decree an exemplary punishment against those who had seized on the temple and the sacred treasure. The form was legal; we ourselves had indicated it in our decree of the 16th of Scirophorion;† yet, as the Thebans and Thessalians, by the number of their suffrages, dispose at pleasure of the decisions of that tribunal, the judgment pronounced must necessarily be influenced by hatred and cruelty.[r] The principal authors of the sacrilege are devoted to public execration; they may be pursued wherever they fly.[s] The nation, as an accomplice in their crime, since it took up arms in their defence, loses the double suffrage it had in the assembly of the Amphictyons, and this privilege is for ever transferred to the kings of Macedon. All the cities of Phocis, excepting three, of

* The 1st of August of the year 346 before Christ. † The 12th of June of the same year. [r] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 301. [s] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 455.

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which it is thought sufficient to destroy the fortifications, are to be demolished, and reduced to villages of fifty small houses placed at a certain distance from each other.[t] The inhabitants of Phocis, deprived of the right of offering sacrifices or participating in the sacred ceremonies, may cultivate their lands, but must annually pay sixty talents* into the sacred treasury, till they shall have restored the whole sum which they have taken out of it. They are to deliver up their arms and horses, and are not to possess others till they have made complete restoration to the treasury. Philip, in concert with the Bœötians and Thessalians, is to preside at the Pythian games, instead of the Corinthians, who are accused of having favoured the Phocians. There are also other articles, the object of which is to re-establish union among the states of Greece, and restore the dignity of divine worship in the temple of Apollo.[u]

The proposition of the Œtæans of Thessaly was cruel, because it was conformable to the laws enacted against sacrilege. They proposed to exterminate the impious race of the Phocians, by casting their infants from the top of a rock. But Æschines warmly opposed this motion, and saved the hope of a multitude of wretched families.[x]

Philip has caused the decree to be executed, according to some, with rigorous barbarity,[y] but,

[t] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 455. Pausan. lib. 10. c. 3. p. 804.
* 324,000 livres (13,500*l.*)
[u] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 455. Pausan. lib. 10. c. 3. p. 804.
[x] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 417.
[y] Justin. lib. 8. c. 5. Oros. lib. 3. c. 12.

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according to others, with more moderation than the Thebans and Thessalians would have showed.[z]

Twenty-two walled towns constituted the ornament of Phocis.[a] The greater part of these are now only heaps of ashes and ruins.[b] In the fields we only behold aged men, women, children, and infirm persons, whose feeble and trembling hands with difficulty gather from the earth some gross sustenance. Their sons, their husbands, their fathers, have been forced to abandon them; some, sold for slaves, groan in chains;[c] and others, proscribed and fugitive, find no asylum throughout Greece. We have received some of them, and the Thessalians already charge us with it as a crime.[d] Even should more fortunate circumstances bring them back to their country, what a time must elapse before they can have restored to the temple of Delphi all the gold and silver of which it has been plundered by their generals during the course of the war, and the value of which is said to amount to more than ten thousand talents![e] *

After the council was ended, Philip offered sacrifices, as returning thanks to the gods; and, during a splendid entertainment, at which were present two hundred guests, including our deputies and those of the other states of Greece, hymns were sung in honour of the gods; and songs of victory to celebrate the triumph of the monarch.[f]

[z] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 417 Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 456.
[a] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 312. [b] Id. ibid. p. 303 et 344.
[c] Id. de Coron. p. 479. [d] Id. de Pace, p. 62. [e] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 453. * More than 54,000,000 livres (2,250,000*l.*)
[f] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 313. Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 421.

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*The 1st of Pyanepsion.** Philip, before he returned into his territories, has fulfilled the engagements he had contracted with the Thebans and the Thessalians.[g] He has given to the former Ochromenus, Coronea, and other cities in Bœötia, which they have dismantled;[h] and to the latter, Nicæa, and the places which are at the outlet of the pass of Thermopylæ,[i] and which the Phocians had taken from the Locrians. Thus the Thessalians remain masters of the strait; but they are so easily to be deceived,[k] that Philip risks nothing in confiding it to their custody. For his part, he has derived from his expedition all the advantages he expected: he is at liberty to pass Thermopylæ whenever he shall judge proper;[l] he has obtained the honour of having terminated a religious war, and has acquired the right of presiding at the Pythian games, and the still more important right of a seat and suffrage in the council of the Amphictyons.

As this latter privilege may give him a very great preponderance in the affairs of Greece, he is extremely anxious to preserve it. At present, he has only received it from the Thebans and the Thessalians: to render it valid and legitimate, the consent of the other states which compose the league is necessary. His ambassadors, and those of the Thessa-

* The 23d of October of the year 346 before Christ.
[g] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 343. [h] Id. de Pace, p. 62. Id. de Fals. Leg. p. 315 et 344. [i] Id. Phil. 2. p. 66. Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 450. [k] Ulpan. in Olynth. 2. p. 28. [l] Demosth. de Pace, p. 62.

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lians, came not long since to solicit our concurrence;[m] which they did not obtain,[n] though Demosthenes was of opinion their request should be granted. He feared lest a refusal should irritate the Amphictyonic states, and render Attica a second Phocis.[o]

We are so dissatisfied with the late peace, that we have been glad of an opportunity to offer this affront to Philip. If he is offended at our refusal, we have much more reason to be so at his proceedings. In fact, we have given up every thing to him, and he has only relaxed in the single article of the cities of Thrace, which appertain to us.[p] Both sides will now remain in a state of mutual distrust; the consequence of which will be infractions and re-accommodations, which it is but too probable will terminate in some fatal catastrophe.

You are astonished at our audacity. The people no longer fear Philip now he is at a distance, though we dreaded him too much when he was near. The manner in which he has conducted and terminated the war with the Phocians, his disinterestedness in the division of the spoils, and the profound policy he has displayed, may with reason inspire us with as much security for the present as fears for a future time, which, perhaps, is not far distant. Other conquerors hasten to possess themselves of a country, without bestowing a thought on those who inhabit it; but Philip endeavours to subdue the Greeks before he

[m] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 310. [n] Id. Phil. 1. p. 62.
[o] Id. de Pace, Liban. Argum. p. 59. [p] Id. de Fals. Leg. p. 305.

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conquers Greece. He wishes to allure us, to gain our confidence, to accustom us to our chains, to oblige us perhaps to request them from him, and by slow and lenient methods to become insensibly our arbiter, our defender, and our master.

I shall conclude by two anecdotes which have been related to me of him. While he was at Delphi, he was informed that an Achæan, named Arcadion a man of wit and prompt at repartee, hated him, and affected to shun his presence. He one day met this man by accident, and said to him with great mildness: "How long will you fly me?" "Until," replied Arcadion, "I shall arrive at some place where your very name is unknown." The king only laughed, and engaged him by kindness and caresses to come and sup with him.[q]

This prince is so great, that I have long expected him to be guilty of some weakness; nor have I been deceived. He has just forbidden the use of chariots in his dominions,[r] because a soothsayer has predicted that he shall die by a chariot.*

[q] Theoph. Dur. Phil. ap. Athen. lib. 6. c. 13. p. 249. [r] Cicer. de Fat. c. 3. Val. Max. lib. 1. c. 8. Extern. No. 9. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. c. 45. * The authors who relate this anecdote add, that a chariot was engraved on the handle of the poniard with which this king was assassinated.

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IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF EUBULUS.

The 4th year of the 108th Olympiad.

(From the 15th of July of the year 345, to the 4th of July of the year 344, before Christ.)

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

Timonides of Leucadia arrived here a few days since. You were acquainted with him at the academy, and you know that thirteen years ago he accompanied Dion into Sicily, and continually fought by his side. The history on which he is employed will contain the particulars of that celebrated expedition.[s]

Nothing can be imagined more dreadful than the state in which he has left the island of Sicily, formerly so flourishing. It seems as if Fortune had chosen it for the theatre where she might exhibit, within a small number of years, all the vicissitudes of which human affairs are capable. She at first produced two tyrants, who oppressed the country during half a century. Against the latter of these princes she raised Dion his uncle; against Dion, Calippus his friend; and against that infamous assassin, Hipparinus; whom two years after she destroyed by a violent death,[t] and whose place she supplied by a rapid succession of despots, less powerful, but not less cruel than the former.[u]

[s] Plut. in Dion. p. 967, 971 et 972. [t] Plat. Ep. 8. t. iii. p. 356. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 5. c. 4. Diod. lib. 16. p. 436. Theoph. ap. Athen. lib. 10. p. 436. [u] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 236.

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These different eruptions of tyranny, preceded, accompanied, and followed by terrible shocks, have been all distinguished, like the explosions of Ætna, by dreadful traces. The same scenes are every instant renewed in the principal cities of Sicily, the greater part of which have broken the bonds that constituted their strength by attaching them to the capital, and have delivered themselves up to leaders who have enslaved by promising them liberty. Hippon has made himself master of Messana, Mamercus of Catana, Icetas of Leontini, Nisæus of Syracuse, and Leptines of Apollonia,[x] while other cities groan under the yoke of Nicodemus. Apolloniades, &c.[y] These revolutions have not been effected without torrents of blood, and giving birth to implacable hatreds and the most atrocious crimes.

The Carthaginians, who possess many places in Sicily, extend their conquests, and daily make incursions into the territories of the Grecian cities, the inhabitants of which experience, without the least interruption, at once the horrors of a foreign and a civil war; incessantly exposed to the attacks of the barbarians, the enterprises of the tyrant of Syracuse, the enormities of their particular tyrants, and to the rage of parties, which has risen to such a height as to arm even the good and virtuous citizens against each other.

Such a train of calamities have rendered Sicily

[x] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 236 et 247. [y] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 472.

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only one profound solitude, one vast tomb. The villages and towns have disappeared;[z] the fields lie uncultivated; and the cities, half destroyed and deserted, seem transfixed with terror at the menacing aspect of those citadels,[a] which enclose within their walls their tyrants, surrounded by the ministers of death.

You perceive, Anacharsis, that nothing is more fatal to a degenerate nation than to attempt to break its chains. The Greeks of Sicily were too corrupted to preserve their liberty, and too vain to endure servitude. Their dissensions and their wars have only proceeded from the monstrous alliance which they wished to form between the love of independence and their excessive taste for pleasures. By their restless agitation, they are become the most unfortunate of men, and the most abject of slaves.

Timonides has this moment left me: he has received letters from Syracuse. Dionysius has reascended the throne, from which he has driven Nisæus, the son of the same father, but by another mother.[b] Nisæus had reigned some years, and continued with splendor the tyranny of his predecessors. Betrayed by his partisans,[c] thrown into a dungeon, and condemned to die, he has passed his last days in a state of continual intoxication.[d] He has died like

[z] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 236 et 247. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 473. [a] Nep. in Timol. c. 3. [b] Plut. ibid. p. 236. [c] Justin. lib. 21. c. 3. [d] Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 10. p. 435.

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his brother Hipparinus, who had reigned before him,[e] after having lived like another of his brothers named Apollocrates.[f]

Dionysius has a great revenge to take on his subjects. They deprived him of the supreme power, and during several years he was compelled to indure in Italy a weight of ignominy and contempt.[g] They fear, with reason, the impetuosity of his temper, and his vindictive spirit, irritated by what he has suffered. These we may well expect to produce a new intrigue in the great tragedy which Fortune exhibits in Sicily.

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

We have just received news from Sicily. Dionysius believed himself happy in being again seated on a throne so often stained by the blood of his family; but this was the fatal moment in which his evil destiny awaited him. His wife, his daughters, and the youngest of his sons, have perished together, by the most lingering and cruel of deaths. When he departed from Italy for Sicily, he left them in the capital of the Epizephyrian Locrians, who took advantage of his absence to besiege them in the citadel; which having taken, they stripped them naked, and exposed them to the brutal desires of an unbridled populace, whose fury was not assuaged by this excess of indignity. They put them to death by thrusting needles under their nails, broke their bones in a

[e] Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 10. p. 436. [f] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. c. 41. [g] Plat. Epist. 7. p. 334.

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mortar, and cut the rest of their bodies into pieces, which they threw into the flames or the sea, after having forced every citizen to taste of their flesh.[h]

Dionysius was accused of having, in concert with the physicians, shortened the life of his father[i] by poison, and put to death several of his brothers and relations, whom he suspected of forming designs against his authority.[k] He has ended, by being the executioner of his wife and children; for, when a whole people is guilty of such strange barbarities, it becomes necessary to examine the affair with attention, to discover to whom the guilt is to be imputed. If we consider the conduct of the Locrians, we shall find they lived peaceably, under laws which maintained order and tranquillity in their city.[l] Dionysius, driven from Syracuse, solicited from them an asylum; which they granted the more readily, as a treaty of alliance subsisted between them and him, and his mother had been born among them. Their fathers, by permitting, contrary to the maxims of true policy,[m] that a private family should give a queen to Sicily, had not foreseen that Sicily would send them a tyrant in return. Dionysius, by the aid of his relations and his troops, gained possession of the citadel; seized on the property of the rich citizens, who were almost all massacred by his orders; exposed their wives and daughters to the most infamous prostitution; and in

[h] Clearch. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 541. Plut. in Timol. p. 242. Strab. lib. 6. p. 260. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 9. c. 8. [i] Plut. in Dion. p. 960. [k] Justin. lib. 21. c. 1. Ælian. lib. 6. c. 12. [l] Strab. ibid. p. 259. [m] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 7. t. ii. p. 396.

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a few years entirely destroyed the laws, manners, tranquillity, and happiness of a nation, which so many injuries had rendered ferocious.[n]

The dreadful calamity which he has suffered has spread terror through his whole kingdom. It cannot be doubted but Dionysius will refine even on the cruelties of his father, and verify a prediction which a Sicilian related to me not long since.

While the subjects of Dionysius the Elder were continually uttering imprecations against him, he learned with surprise that a very old woman in Syracuse every morning prayed to the gods that she might not survive her king. He therefore caused her to be brought before him, and inquired the reason of her tender affection. "I will tell you," said she: "When I was a child, which is now a long time ago, I heard every one making heavy complaints against him who governed us, and I joined in wishing his death. He was murdered; and a second came, who having seized on the citadel, caused us to regret the former. We conjured the gods to deliver us from him, and they heard our prayers. You succeeded him, and you have been worse than both the others; but as I expect, from what we have already experienced, that your successor will be guilty of still greater cruelties than you, I every day address vows to heaven for your preservation." Dionysius, struck with the frankness of the woman, did not put her to death, but treated her with kindness.[o]

[n] Justin. lib. 21. c. 2 et 3. Clearch. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 541. Ælian. lib. 9. c. 8. Strab. lib. 6. p. 259. [o] Val. Max. lib. 6. c. 2. Extern. N° 2.

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IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF LYCISCUS.

The 1st year of the 109th Olympiad.

From the 4th of July of the year 344, to the 23d of July of the year 343, before Christ.)

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

THE kings of Macedon hated the Illyrians, who had often defeated them: Philip hates no nation, because he fears none; he only aims to enslave all.

Follow, in imagination, if you are able to do it, the rapid operations of his last campaign. He assembles a powerful army, falls on Illyria, takes several cities, amasses immense plunder; returns to Macedon, penetrates into Thessaly, whither he is invited by his partisans; delivers that country from all the petty tyrants by which it was oppressed; divides it into four great districts, at the head of which he places the chiefs whom the people desire, and who are devoted to him; attaches the inhabitants to himself by new ties, causes the duties he received in their ports to be confirmed to him, and quietly returns to his dominions.[p] What is the result of this conduct? While the barbarians, shuddering with rage, are compelled to bear the chains he has imposed on them, the blinded Greeks hasten to offer themselves to servitude. They consider him as the enemy of tyranny, as their friend, their benefactor, and their saviour.[q]

[p] Demosth. Phil. 2. p. 66. Phil. 3. p. 89. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 463. [q] Demosth. de Coron. p. 479.

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Some intrigue to procure an alliance with him,[r] and others implore his protection. At this very time he has openly undertaken the defence of the Messenians and Argives; he has furnished them with men and money, and signified to the Lacedæmonians that, if they shall attack them, he will immediately enter Peloponnesus.[s] Demosthenes is gone into Messenia and Argolis, and has in vain endeavoured to show those states their true interests.....

FROM THE SAME.

AMBASSADORS from Philip are arrived. He complains of the calumnies which we circulate against him, respecting the late peace. He maintains that he never entered into any engagement, nor made any promise, and defies us to prove the contrary.[t] Our deputies then have shamefully deceived us, and, as Demosthenes has urged, ought to be compelled, either to justify their conduct, or suffer the punishment they merit.[u]

This they will soon meet. The orator Hyperides has lately brought a public accusation against Philocrates, and detected his villany and artifice. The indignation against him was general, but he himself appeared unmoved; he waited for the rage of the multitude to subside. "Why do you not defend yourself?" said some one to him. 'Is it not time,' answered he.—"What then do you wait for?" 'For

[r] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 463.
[s] Demosth. Phil. 2. p. 65.
[t] Liban. Argum. in Phil. 2. p. 63.
[u] Demosth. Phil. 2. p. 67.

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the people to condemn some other orator.'[x] At length, however, proof having been obtained that he had received rich presents from Philip,[y] he has fled to escape the punishment due to his crime.

LETTER OF CALLIMEDON.

You have heard it said that, in the times of our forefathers, about ten or twelve centuries past, the gods, as a relaxation from the eternal sameness of their felicity, sometimes descended to the earth to amuse themselves with the daughters of mortals. You may perhaps imagine that they have since lost their relish for this intercourse; but, if you do, you are mistaken.

It is not long since I saw an athleta, named Attalus,[z] born at Magnesia, a city situate on the Mæander, in Phrygia, who came from the Olympic games, in which he had received several severe wounds, but had not been able to gain the prize.—I expressed my astonishment at this, because he appeared to me of invincible strength. His father, who was with him, said to me: His defeat ought only to be attributed to his ingratitude: when he entered himself as a competitor, he did not declare his real father, who has taken vengeance by depriving him of the victory.—He is not then your son?—No, he owes his birth to the Mæander.—How! is he the son of a river?—Be-

[x] Arist. Rhet. lib. 2. c. 3. t. ii. p. 551. [y] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 310 et 311. [z] Æschin. Epist. 10. p. 211.

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yond a doubt; my wife has told me so, and all Magnesia was a witness to the fact. According to a very ancient custom, our maidens, before they are married, bathe in the waters of the Mæander, and offer their first favours to the god. He often disdains to receive them; but he accepted those of my wife. We saw at a distance that divinity, under the figure of a beautiful young man, lead her into some close thickets with which the banks are covered.—And how do you know that he was the river?—He must have been; his head was crowned with reeds.—I submitted to this proof as demonstrative.

I communicated this strange conversation to several of my friends, who told me of a musician of Epidamnus, named Carion, who pretends that one of his children is the son of Hercules. Æschines related to me the following fact.* I shall give it you in his own words.

I was in Troas, with my young friend Cimon, and studied the Iliad in the places which are the scene of the poem. The studies of Cimon were of a quite different nature. A number of maidens were to be married, and Callirhoë, the fairest among them, went to bathe in the Scamander, while her female attendant stood on the bank, at a certain distance. Callirhoë had no sooner plunged into the river, than she said, with a loud voice: Scamander, receive the homage which

* The true date of this transaction is several years later than the times of which I treat; but as it exemplifies the manners of the age and country, I have believed I should be pardoned the anachronism, and that it would be sufficient to acknowledge it.

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we owe unto thee. I receive it, replied a young man, who rose from the midst of some bushes. I was with the rest of the people at so great a distance that we could not distinguish the features of his countenance, but we could perceive that his head was covered with reeds. In the evening I laughed with Cimon at the simplicity of these people.

Four days after, the brides appeared, arrayed in all their ornaments, in a procession in honour of Venus. As they passed us, Callirhoë perceiving Cimon, who stood next to me, suddenly fell at his feet, and exclaimed to her attendant, with a simple and artless joy: O nurse, there is the god Scamander, my first husband. Her attendant screamed aloud, and the imposture was discovered. Cimon immediately disappeared, and I closely followed him. When we had reached our house, I upbraided him with the imprudence and wickedness of the action he had committed; but he laughed in my face, and defended himself by the example of the athleta Attalus, and the musician Carion. After all, added he, Homer has introduced Scamander in tragedy, and I was willing he should figure in comedy. I will not end here: I will father one child on Bacchus, and another on Apollo. It is mighty well, replied I: but, in the mean time, we are in some danger of being burnt alive, for I see the multitude approaching with flaming torches. In fact, we had only time to save ourselves by a back door, and embark immediately on board a vessel.[a]

[a] Æschin. Ep. 10, p. 211.

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My dear Anacharsis, when it is said that an age is enlightened, no more is meant than that more knowledge is found in certain cities than in others, and that in these cities the upper ranks of citizens are better informed than they formerly were. The multitude, I do not even except that of Athens, adhere the more tenaciously to their superstitions the more efforts are made to detach them from them. During the last festivals of Eleusis, the young and charming Phryne, having thrown off her garments, and permitted her beautiful hair to float on her shoulders, entered the sea, and sported a long time in the midst of the waves. An infinite number of spectators covered the shore, and when she came out of the water, they all exclaimed: It is Venus rising from the ocean. And the populace, no doubt, would have taken her for that goddess, if Phryne had not been so well known, and if some persons of understanding had thought proper to favour the deception.

Doubt it not, men have two favourite passions which philosophy will never be able to destroy; the love of error, and the love of slavery. But let us leave philosophy and return to Phryne. The scene which she exhibited was too much applauded not to be repeated, and will, it is probable, contribute to the improvement of the arts. The painter Apelles and the sculptor Praxiteles were on the shore, and both have conceived the design of representing Venus after the model which they had before their eyes.[b]

[b] Athen. lib. 12. p. 590.

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At your return, you will see this celebrated beauty, and will no doubt acknowledge that you have seen none in Asia, who could boast such an assemblage of graces. Praxiteles is desperately enamoured of her: he is a connoisseur in beauty, and declares that he never before saw an example of it so perfect. She wished to have the finest work of that artist. I will give it you with pleasure, answered he, on condition that you choose it yourself. But how difficult was it to determine amid such a number of inimitable performances! While she hesitated, a slave whom she had secretly gained over, came running to tell his master that his work-shop had taken fire, that the greater part of his statues were destroyed, and the rest in the most imminent danger. Alas! exclaimed Praxiteles, I am ruined if the Cupid and the Satyr are not saved. Fear nothing, cried Phryne, smiling: this is merely a contrivance of mine to guide me in my choice. She then took the statue of Cupid, and her design is to enrich with it the city of Thespiæ, her native place.[c] It is likewise reported that that city intends to consecrate to her a statue, in the enclosure of the temple at Delphi, and place it by the side of that of Philip.[d] It is certainly proper that a courtesan should be placed next to a conqueror.

I can pardon Phryne for ruining her lovers, but I cannot forgive her for afterwards dismissing them.[e] Our laws, more indulgent, wink at her frequent infidelities, and the licentiousness of her manners; but

[c] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 20. p. 46. [d] Athen. lib. 12. p. 590.
[e] Timocl. ap. Athen. lib. 13. c. 3. p. 567.

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she was suspected of having, after the example of Alcibiades, profaned the mysteries of Eleusis, and cited to answer for the crime before the tribunal of the Heliaste. She appeared, and as the judges entered the court, she watered their hands with her tears.[f] Euthias, who prosecuted her, urged that sentence of death should be pronounced against her, Hyperides spoke for her. That celebrated orator, who had loved and still entertained a passion for her, perceiving that his eloquence made no impression, caused her to approach, tore the veil which covered her bosom, and represented in the most forcible language to her judges that they would be guilty of an impiety should they condemn to death the priestess of Venus. The judges, seized with a religious fear, and still more moved by the charms exposed to their view, declared Phryne innocent.[g]

For some time past, the pay of our foreign troops has amounted to more than a thousand talents.[h]* We have lost seventy-five cities which were dependent on us;[i] but we have perhaps acquired as many beauties, each more amiable than the other. They no doubt increase the pleasures of society, but they also increase its absurdities. Our orators, philosophers, and gravest personages, value themselves on their gallantry,[k] and our fine ladies learn the ma-

[f] Posidip. ap. Athen. lib. 13. c. 3. p. 591. [g] Athen. lib. 13. p. 590. Plut. in X. Rhet. t. ii. p. 849. Quinctil. lib. 2. c. 15. p. 120. [h] Isocr. Areop. t. i. p. 315. * 5,400,000 livres (225,000*l.*) [i] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 406. [k] Athen. lib. 13. p. 588, &c.

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thematics.[l] Gnathæna does not stand in need of this resource to please. Diphilus, who is extremely fond of her, having brought out a comedy, the failure of which he could not attribute to cabal, I happened to be at the house of his mistress when he came in, immediately after, in no small agitation, and as soon as he had entered, requested that his feet might be washed.* You have no need, answered she; every body has carried you on their shoulders.[m]

The same person, one day dining with Gnathæna, asked her by what means she kept her wine so cool. I cool it, replied she, in a well into which I have thrown the prologues to your pieces.[n]

Before I conclude, I must mention to you a sentence which Philip has lately pronounced. Two criminals, equally guilty, were brought before him: they both deserved death, but he loves not to shed blood. He has banished one from his dominions, and condemned the other to follow him till he shall return to Macedon.[o]

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

Isocrates has just shown me a letter which he has written to Philip.[p] An old courtier could not dis-

[l] Athen. lib. 13. p. 583. * Many Athenians went with their naked feet. [m] Athen. lib. 13. p. 583. [n] Id. ibid. p. 580. [o] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 178. [p] Isocr. Ep. 2. ad Phil. t. i. p. 442.

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play more address in flattering a prince. He apologises for having adventured to give him advice, but he found himself constrained to it: the interest of Athens and of all Greece required it; the subject of it being most important, no less than the care which the king of Macedon ought to take of his life. Every one blames you, says he, for throwing yourself into the midst of danger, with less precaution than a common soldier. It is no doubt a glorious action to die for our country, for our children, for those to whom we owe our existence; but nothing can be more reprehensible than to endanger a life on which depends the fate of an empire, and to tarnish, by a destructive temerity, the glory of so many great actions. He adduces the example of the kings of Lacedæmon, who, in the heat of battle, are surrounded by a number of warriors to defend their persons; of Xerxes, king of Persia, who, notwithstanding his defeat, saved his kingdom by preserving himself; and of a number of generals, who, not being sufficiently careful of their own lives, have occasioned the destruction of their armies.[q]

He wishes that a sincere friendship should be established between Philip and the Athenians, and that they should, in concert, direct their power against the empire of the Persians. He speaks honourably of the republic, though he confesses that we have our faults; but the gods themselves are not wholly irreproachable in our eyes.[r]

[q] Isocr. Ep. 2. ad Phil. t. i. p. 442. [r] Id. ibid. p. 450.

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I shall here stop; I am not surprised that a man above ninety years of age still creeps, after having crept during his whole life; but what gives me most serious concern is, that many Athenians think like him; and you will hence be led to conclude, that since your departure our ideas have greatly changed.

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NOTES.

NOTE I.—CHAP. XLV.—PAGE 12.

On the Institution of the Ephori at Sparta.

THE greater part of authors ascribe the institution of these magistrates to Theopompus, who reigned about a century after Lycurgus. Such is the opinion of Aristotle, (*a*) Plutarch, (*b*) Cicero, (*c*) Valerius Maximus, (*d*) and Dion Chrysostom. (*e*) To this list may be added Xenophon, who seems to attribute the origin of the ephori to the principal citizens of Lacedæmon; (*f*) and Eusebius, who, in his Chronicle, places it at the time when Theopompus reigned. (*g*)

Two other testimonies deserve the more attention, as they contain tolerably precise dates. According to Plutarch, king Cleomenes III. thus addressed the general assembly of Lacedæmon: "Lycurgus contented himself with joining in authority with the two kings a body of senators. During a long time, the republic knew no other magistracy. But the war of Messenia (in the time of Theopompus) continuing to be protracted, the kings thought it their duty to confide the care of administering justice to the ephori, who at first were only their officers. But, in the sequel, the successors of these magistrates usurped

(*a*) De Rep. lib. 5. c. 11. t. ii. p. 407. (*b*) In Lycurg. t. i. p. 43. Id. ad Princ. Inerud. t. ii. p. 779. (*c*) De Leg. lib. 3. c. 7. t. iii. p. 164. (*d*) Lib. 4. c. 1. extern. No. 8. (*e*) Orat. 56. p. 565. (*f*) De Rep. Laced. p. 683. (*g*) Euseb. Chron. lib. 2. p. 151. Freret. Defens. de la Chronol. p. 171.

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the authority, and one of them, named Asteropus, rendered them independent." (*h*)

Plato (*i*) enumerates three causes which at Lacedæmon have prevented the royal authority from becoming despotic. The two last are these: "A man animated with a divine spirit (Lycurgus) limited the power of the kings by that of the senate; afterward another saviour happily counterbalanced the authority of the kings and senate by that of the ephori." The saviour of whom Plato here speaks can only be Theopompus.

On the other side, Herodotus, (*k*) Plato, (*l*) and an ancient author, named Satyrus, (*m*) consider Lycurgus as the institutor of the ephori.

I answered that, according to Heraclides of Pontus, who lived soon after Plato, some writers attributed to Lycurgus all the regulations relative to the government of Lacedæmon. (*n*) The two passages of Plato which I have cited are a sufficient example of this. In his eighth letter, (*o*) he advances in general that Lycurgus instituted the senators and the ephori, while, in his treatise on laws, (*p*) where he has more circumstantially related the fact, he ascribes to these two bodies of magistrates two different origins.

The authority of Satyrus would have no weight with me, if it were not corroborated by that of Herodotus. I shall not say with Marsham, (*q*) that the word *ephori* has crept into the text of the latter author; but I shall say that his testimony may be reconciled with the accounts given by other writers. (*r*)

It appears that the office of the ephori was a magistracy that had long been known to several of the states of Peloponnesus, and, among others, to the Messenians. (*s*) It must have been so likewise to the ancient inhabitants of Laconia, since the ephori raised the people against Lycurgus on account of his new laws. (*t*) Besides, Lycurgus had in some measure modelled the constitution of Sparta after that of Crete; and the Cretans had certain principal magistrates who were named *Cosmi*, and

(*h*) Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 808. (*i*) De Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 691. (*k*) Lib. 1. c. 61. (*l*) Epist. 8. t. iii. p. 354. (*m*) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 1. § 68. (*n*) Heraclid. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823. (*o*) Plat. epist. 8. t. iii. p. 354. (*p*) Plat. t. ii. p. 691. (*q*) Chron. Egypt. p. 509. (*r*) Frer. Defens. de la Chronol. p. 170. (*s*) Polyb. lib. 4. p. 273. (*t*) Plut. in Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 227.

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whom Aristotle compares to the ephori of Lacedæmon. (*u*) In fine, the greater part of the authors I have cited do not speak of the office of the ephori as a magistracy newly instituted by Theopompus; but as a curb by which that prince checked the power of the kings. It is therefore extremely probable that Lycurgus left the ephori, who were instituted before his time, in possession of several of their functions; and that Theopompus granted them prerogatives which afterwards caused the government to incline toward an oligarchy.

NOTE II.—CHAP. XLVI.—PAGE 34.

On the Division of Lands made by Lycurgus.

PLUTARCH mentions three opinions concerning this division. According to the first, Lycurgus divided all the estates of Laconia into thirty thousand portions, of which nine thousand were given to the inhabitants of Sparta. According to the second, he only bestowed on the Spartans six thousand portions, to which king Polydorus, who some time after terminated the first war of Messenia, added three thousand others. According to the third opinion, the Spartans received the one half of these nine thousand portions from Lycurgus, and the other half from Polydorus. (*x*)

I have followed the first of these opinions, because Plutarch, who had it in his power to consult many works which are now lost, seems to have given it the preference. I do not, however, absolutely reject the others. It appears in fact, that, in the time of Polydorus, an increase took place in the portions allotted to the Spartans. A fragment of the poems of Tyrtæus informs us that the people of Sparta then demanded a new division of lands. (*y*) It is also related, that Polydorus said, when he set out for Messenia, that he was going to a country which had not

(*u*) Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 10. t. ii. p. 332. (*x*) Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. i. p. 44. (*y*) Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 8. p. 396.

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yet been divided.(z) In fine, the conquest of Messenia must have introduced an augmentation of fortune among the Spartans.

The examination of this question would lead me into discussions equally prolix and useless; I shall therefore proceed to make some observations on two inadvertencies which appear to have escaped two men, who have each done honour to their age and nation.

Aristotle says that the legislator of Lacedæmon acted wisely when he forbade the Spartans to sell their portions; but that he ought not to have permitted them to make a donation of them during their lifetime, or to bequeath them by will to whom they pleased.(a) I do not believe that Lycurgus ever granted them this permission. It was the ephorus Epitades, who, to deprive his son of his inheritance, caused the decree to be passed which has given occasion to the censure of Aristotle;(b) a censure the more extraordinary, as that philosopher wrote only a short time after the death of Epitades.

Solon had permitted a brother to marry his sister by the father's side, but not his uterine sister. M. de Montesquieu has satisfactorily proved that Solon intended by this law to prevent a husband and wife from uniting in themselves two inheritances, (c) which might happen if a brother and sister by the same mother should intermarry; because the one might succeed to the inheritance of the husband of the mother, and the other to that of the second husband. M. de Montesquieu observes that this law was conformable to the spirit of the Grecian republics, and mentions a passage of Philo, who says that Lycurgus permitted the marriage of children by the same mother.(d) To resolve this difficulty, M. de Montesquieu answers, that according to Strabo,(e) when, at Lacedæmon, a sister married her brother, she brought him as a marriage portion the half of the inheritance to which the brother succeeded. But Strabo, in this place, speaks, after the historian Ephorus, of the laws of Crete, and not of those of Lacedæmon; and though he acknowledges, with that historian, that the latter are in part de-

(z) Plut. Apopth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 231. (a) Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 9. p. 329. (b) Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 797. (c) Esprit. des Lois, liv. 5. chap. 5. (d) Phil. de Spec. Jud. p. 779. (e) Strab. lib. 10. p. 482.

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rived from those of Minos, it does not follow that Lycurgus adopted that of which we now speak. I will further affirm, that he could not, in his system, assign as a marriage portion to the sister, the half of the inheritance of the brother, since he had forbidden all marriage portions.

Even supposing that the law mentioned by Strabo was adopted at Lacedæmon, I do not think it can be applied to the passage in Philo. The author says, that, at Lacedæmon, it was permitted to marry the sister by the mother's side, but not the sister by the father's side; which M. de Montesquieu explains thus: "To prevent the property of the family of the sister from passing into that of the brother, one half of the property of the brother was given as a marriage portion to the sister."

This explanation supposes two things: 1st, That a marriage portion must necessarily be given to the daughter, which is contrary to the laws of Lacedæmon; 2dly, That this sister renounced the inheritance of her father to share that her brother had received. To which I answer, that if the sister was an only daughter, she must succeed to the possessions of her father, and could not renounce them; if she had a brother by the same bed, he must inherit; and that, by marrying a brother by another bed, there was no danger of accumulating two inheritances.

If the law mentioned by Philo was founded on the division of possessions, to explain it in part will not be difficult; as, for instance, a mother who had by a former husband an only daughter, and by a second husband several sons, might, no doubt, marry that daughter to one of the younger sons by the second marriage, because that son had no portion. In this sense, a Spartan might marry his uterine sister. If this was what Philo intended to say, I can easily understand him; but when he adds, that it was not permitted to marry a sister by the father's side, I can no longer understand him, because I can see no reason, derived from the division of possessions, why these kind of marriages should have been forbidden.

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Note iii.—Chap. XLVII.—Page 55.

On the Cryptia.

I here speak of the cryptia, which is commonly rendered by the word ambuscade, and almost always confounded with the chase of the Helots.

According to Heraclides of Pontus, who lived a short time before I suppose Anacharsis to have travelled in Greece, and to Plutarch, who did not live till long after, the youth of Lacedæmon were ordered from time to time to range over the country, armed with poniards, and, concealing themselves during the day in secret places, to sally forth at night, and murder such of the Helots as they might find in their way.(*f*)

Let us add to these two testimonies that of Aristotle, who, in a passage preserved by Plutarch, tells us that the ephori, when they entered on office, declared war against the Helots, that they might be murdered with impunity.(*g*) There is no proof that this decree was authorised by the laws of Lycurgus, but every thing tends to convince us that it was accompanied by correctives; for the republic could never declare an effective and constant war against men who alone cultivated and farmed the lands, who served in the armies, and on board the fleets, and who were often admitted into the number of citizens. The decree of the ephori could then have no other view than to exempt from punishment the Spartan who should have the misfortune to kill a Helot. But because a man has the power of life and death over another, it does not follow that he always makes use of that power.

Let us now examine, 1st, What was the object of the cryptia; 2dly, Whether the laws of Lycurgus instituted the chase of the Helots.

1st, Plato recommends, (*h*) that, in a well-governed state, the youth, as soon as they were of sufficient age, should, during two years, range the country with arms in their hands, braving

(*f*) Heracl. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 56. (*g*) Plut. ibid. p. 57. (*h*) Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 763.

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the rigours of summer and winter, leading a hardy life, and subjected to a strict discipline. Whatever name, adds he, we give to these youth, whether *crypti* or *agronomi*, that is, inspectors of the fields, they will gain a knowledge of the country, and learn to defend it. As the cryptia was only practised among the Spartans, it is evident that Plato has here described the nature of it; and of this the following passage will no longer permit us to doubt: it is from the same treatise as the preceding. (*i*) A Lacedæmonian, whom Plato introduces into his dialogue, expresses himself in these words: "We have an exercise named cryptia, which is of wonderful use to familiarise us to hardship. We are obliged to march, in winter, bare-footed, to sleep without covering, to serve ourselves without the assistance of slaves, and rapidly to traverse the whole country both by night and day."

The correspondence between these two passages is manifest. They describe very explicitly the object of the cryptia; and it ought to be observed that in them not a word is said of the chase of the Helots, which also is not mentioned in any of the works that still remain of Aristotle, nor in those of Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates, and many other writers of the same age, though they frequently speak of the revolts and desertions of the Helots, and censure, in more than one passage, the laws of Lycurgus, and the customs of the Lacedæmonians. I insist the more on this negative proof, as some of these authors were Athenians, and lived in a republic which treated slaves with the greatest humanity. I think I may conclude from these remarks, that, until about the time when Plato wrote his treatise on laws, the cryptia was not employed to shed the blood of the Helots.

This was an expedition in which the youth of Lacedæmon accustomed themselves to military operations, ranged through the country, concealed themselves in ambuscade, with arms in their hands, as if an enemy were near, and leaving the place of their retreat during the night, repulsed those Helots whom they found in their way. I think it probable that, a short time after the death of Plato, the laws having lost their force, the Spartan youth killed those Helots who made too much resistance, and

(*i*) Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. p. 633.

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perhaps gave occasion to the decree of the ephori which I have mentioned above. The abuse increasing from day to day, the cryptia was at length confounded with the chase of the Helots.

2dly, Let us now examine whether this chase was instituted by Lycurgus.

Heraclides of Pontus contents himself with saying that it was attributed to that legislator; but this is only a conjecture transmitted to us by that author, who was posterior to Plato. Nor does the following passage merit more attention. According to Plutarch, (*k*) Aristotle attributed the institution of the cryptia to Lycurgus; and as the historian, following the error of his time, confounds, in this place, the cryptia with the chase of the Helots, we have reason to suspect that Aristotle confounded them also; but this would be only a presumption. We are ignorant whether Aristotle, in the passage in question, explains the functions of the crypti, and it appears that Plutarch has only cited to refute him; for he says, some lines after, (*l*) that the origin of the cryptia, such as himself conceived it, must have been posterior to the laws of Lycurgus. Plutarch is not always accurate in his details of facts, and I could prove that, on this occasion, his memory has more than once misled him. These are all the authorities to which I had to answer.

By carefully distinguishing the times, every thing may be easily reconciled. According to Aristotle, the cryptia was instituted by Lycurgus. Plato explains its object, and believes it to be extremely useful. When the manners of Sparta became corrupted, the youth of Lacedæmon, we are told, abused this exercise to perpetrate horrid cruelties. I am so far from justifying these, that I suspect the accounts we have received of them to be exaggerated. Who has told us that the Helots had no means of defending themselves from these attacks? 1st, The time of the cryptia was perhaps fixed. 2dly, It must have been difficult for the youth of Lacedæmon to disperse themselves, without being perceived, over a country full of Helots, to whom it was of so much importance to watch their motions. 3dly, It is also not improbable that the individuals of Sparta, who derived their subsistence from the produce of their lands, would inform the Helots, their farmers, of the danger by which they were threat-

(*k*) Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 56. (*l*) Id. ibid. p. 57.

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ened. In all these cases the Helots had only to suffer the youth to make their excursion, and remain shut up in their houses during the night.

I have thought it proper to justify, in this note, the account I have given of the cryptia in the body of the work. I have also thought that it was by no means necessary to represent men as more wicked than they are, or to assert, without proof, that a wise legislator had commanded the perpetration of cruelties.

Note iv.—Same Chap.—Page 55.

On the Choice of a Wife among the Spartans.

Authors differ concerning the customs of the states of Greece, because these customs have varied at different times. It appears that at Sparta marriages were contracted at the choice of the young couples, or that of their parents. I shall adduce as a proof the example of Lysander, who, before his death, had affianced his two daughters to two citizens of Lacedæmon. (*m*) I shall also cite the law which authorised the prosecution of any person who had contracted an improper marriage. (*n*) On the other hand, an ancient author, named Hermippus, (*o*) relates, that at Lacedæmon the girls who were to be married were shut up in a dark place, and that each young man took by chance her whom he was to marry. To reconcile these different accounts, we may conjecture that Lycurgus had in fact instituted the law mentioned by Hermippus, but that it afterwards fell into disuse. Plato has, in some manner, adopted it in his republic. (*p*)

Note v.—Same Chap.—Same Page.

At what Age the Lacedæmonians married.

The Greeks early knew the danger of premature marriages. Hesiod (*q*) says that the age of the man should not be too

(*m*) Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 451. (*n*) Id. ibid. (*o*) Hermip. ap. Athen. lib. 13, p. 555. (*p*) Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 460. (*q*) Hesiod. Oper. et Dies, v. 695.

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much under thirty: as to that of the woman, though the text is not clear, he seems to fix it at fifteen. Plato, in his republic, (*r*) requires that the men should not marry till the age of thirty, and fixes that of the women at twenty. According to Aristotle, (*s*) the men should be about thirty-seven, and the women about eighteen. I am of opinion, that the usual age at Sparta was thirty years for the men, and twenty for the women. This conjecture is supported by two reasons: 1st, It is the age prescribed by Plato, who has frequently copied the laws of Lycurgus. 2dly, The Spartans had not a right to vote in the general assembly till the age of thirty, (*t*) which seems to suppose that before that time they could not be considered as heads of families.

NOTE VI.—CHAP. XLIX.—PAGE 90.

On the Festivals of Hyacinth.

AMONG the inscriptions which the Abbé Fourmont discovered in Laconia, (*u*) there are two which are of the seventh, and perhaps even of the end of the eighth century before Christ, in which, to the name of the legate, or chief of a solemn deputation (ΠΡΕΣΕΒΥΣ), are added the names of several magistrates, and those of the youths and maidens who had performed in the choruses and who on one of these monuments are named Hyalcadæ, which word, according to Hesychius, (*x*) signified among the Spartans the youths and maidens who composed the choruses. I imagine, therefore, that these antiquities have relation to the festivals of the Hyacinthia.

It is to be observed that, among the maidens who composed one of the choruses, we find the name of Lycorias, daughter of Deuxidamus, or Zeuxidamus, king of Lacedæmon, who lived about the year 700 before Christ.

(*r*) Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 460. (*s*) Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. c. 16. t. ii. p. 446. (*t*) Lib. Argum. Declam. 24. p. 558. (*u*) Inscript. Fourmont. in Bibl. Reg. Franc. (*x*) Hesych. in Ὑαλκ.

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Note vii.—Chap. L.—Page 91.

On the Division of the Armies among the Lacedæmonians.

It is very difficult, and perhaps impossible, to give a just idea of this division. As it often varied, ancient authors, without entering into details, have contented themselves with relating facts, and afterward particular facts have been taken for general rules.

The Spartans were distributed into several classes, named MOPAI, or MOPAI, that is to say, parts or divisions.

But what were the subdivisions of each class? The *lochos*, the *pentecostys*, the *enomotia*. In the text of this work I have thought that I might compare the *mora* to a regiment, the *lochos* to a battalion, and the *enomotia* to a company, though I did not mean it should be supposed that I considered the comparison as in every respect exact. In this note I shall preserve the Greek names.

The subdivisions I have mentioned are clearly explained by Xenophon, (*y*) who lived at the time in which I suppose Anacharsis to have travelled. "Each mora," says he, "has for its officers a polemarch, four leaders of the lochi, eight leaders of the pentecostyes, and sixteen leaders of the enomotiæ." Thus each mora contained four lochi, each lochos two pentecostyes, and each pentecostys two enomotiæ. It is to be observed that Xenophon here gives us a general rule, which is confirmed by this passage in Thucydides. "The king gave the word of command to the polemarchs, who gave it to the lochagi, from whom it passed to the pentecontateres, and from them to the enomotarchi, who gave it to their respective enomotiæ. (*z*)

Sometimes, instead of making the moræ march, a detachment was made of some lochi. (*a*) In the first battle of Mantinea, gained by the Lacedæmonians in the year 418 before Christ, their army, under the command of king Agis, was divided into seven lochi. Each lochos, says Thucydides, (*b*)

(*y*) Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 686. (*z*) Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 66. (*a*) Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 4. p. 518; lib. 7. p. 636. (*b*) Thucd. ibid. c. 68.

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contained four pentecostyes, and each pentecostys four enomotiæ. In this instance the composition of the lochos differs from that given by Xenophon; but the circumstances were not the same. Xenophon spoke in general of the formation of the moræ, when all the parts were united and complete; and Thucydides of a particular case, and lochi separated from their moræ.

How many moræ were there? Some say six, others only five. I shall first present the reader with the proofs in favour of the former opinion, and afterward with those which are adduced to support the latter.

1st, In three inscriptions brought by the Abbé Fourmont from Messenia and Laconia, (*c*) we find the names of the kings of Lacedæmon, those of the senators, the ephori, the military officers, and different bodies of magistrates. In these inscriptions, we have six leaders of moræ, and as they are as ancient as the eighth century before Christ, and only about a hundred and thirty years posterior to Lycurgus, they appear to authorise the supposition that that legislator divided all the citizens into six moræ. But here a great difficulty occurs. Before the six leaders of the moræ, the inscriptions place the six leaders of the lochi. Thus not only the former, that is to say the leaders of the moræ, were subordinate to those of the lochi, but the moræ and lochi were equal in number, which was not the case in the time of Thucydides and Xenophon.

2dly, The latter historian observes that Lycurgus divided the cavalry and heavy-armed infantry into six moræ. (*d*) This passage is conformable to the preceding inscriptions.

Xenephon likewise tells as that king Cleombrotus was sent into Phocis with four moræ. (*e*) If there were but five, one only remained at Lacedæmon. Some time after the battle of Leuctra was fought, the troops of Cleombrotus were defeated, and Xenophon remarks that new levies were made, and that they were especially drawn from the two moræ which still remained at Sparta. (*f*) There were then six in all.

Let us now consider the reasons which may incline us to suppose there were only five.

(*c*) Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xv. p. 395. (*d*) Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 686. (*e*) Id. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 579. (*f*) Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 597.

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1st, Aristotle, as cited by Harpocration, reckoned only five, if we may confide in the edition of Maussac, which has the word Πέντε (*g*). It is true this word is not found in the edition of Gronovius, and that, in some manuscripts, its place is supplied by a numeral letter which signifies six. (*h*) But this letter has so much resemblance to that which stands for the number five, that one may easily have been mistaken for the other; and two passages in Hesychius prove that some copyists of Harpocration must have made this mistake. In the first, it is said that the lochos was called mora among the Lacedæmonians, (*i*) and in the second, that, according to Aristotle, the Lacedæmonians had five lochi, (*k*) and in this passage the word is written at length, Πέντε. Therefore, according to Hesychius, Aristotle admitted only five moræ.

2dly, Diodorus Siculus, (*l*) relates that Agesilaus was at the head of eighteen thousand men, of which *the five moræ*, or, without the article, *five moræ of Lacedæmon*, made a part. It remains to inquire whether, in this passage, the article ought to be admitted or suppressed. Rhodomannus, in his edition, gives the passage thus: Ὧν ἦσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι (or Λακεδαιμονιων), Πέντε μοῖραι. M. Bejot, at my request, did me the favour to consult the manuscripts in the king of France's library. Of twelve which are there, five only contain the passage in question, and have the article οι with the word Lacedæmonians, either in the nominative or genitive. They agree, therefore, with the edition of Rhodomannus, and by a slight, but indispensable, alteration, give us the reading which has been proposed by Meursius: αι Λακεδαιμονιων Πέντε μοιραι. The passage thus restored perfectly agrees with that of Aristotle.

3dly, I have said, in the text of my work, that the Spartans were divided into five tribes. It is natural, therefore, to suppose they were enrolled in the same number of military corps, which received their denomination from these tribes. In fact, Herodotus expressly says, that, at the battle of Platæa, there was a body of the Pitanatæ, (*m*) and we have seen that the Pitanatæ were one of the tribes of Lacedæmon.

(*g*) Harpocr. in Μόρων. (*h*) Maussac. ibid. Meurs. Lect. Attic. lib. 1. c. 16. (*i*) Hesych. in Μόρα. (*k*) Id. ibid. Λόχοι. (*l*) Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 350. (*m*) Herodot. lib. 9. c. 53.

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Yet as all these reasons amount only to probability, and the testimony of Xenophon is positive, we may say with Meursius, (*n*) that the Greek historian has enumerated among the morœ the corps of Sciritæ, so named from Sciritis, a small district situate on the confines of Arcadia and Laconia, (*o*) which was long subject to the Spartans, but afterward taken from them by Epaminondas, who united it to Arcadia. Hence it is that, of the writers posterior to that time, some have considered the Sciritæ as a part of the Lacedæmonian soldiery, (*p*) and others as a body of Arcadian troops. (*q*)

While the Sciritæ were subject to the Spartans, they followed them in almost all their expeditions, sometimes to the number of six hundred. (*r*) In a battle they were stationed in the left wing, and were not mixed with the other morœ. (*s*) Sometimes they were kept in reserve, successively to support the divisions which began to give way. (*t*) During the night they guarded the camp, and their vigilance prevented the soldiers from straggling from the army. This duty was assigned them by Lycurgus himself. (*u*) The corps of the Sciritæ then existed in the time of that legislator, who instituted six bodies of troops; five morœ properly so called, in which the Spartans were enrolled, and the cohort of the Sciritæ, which, not being composed of Spartans, differed essentially from the proper morœ, but which nevertheless might bear the same name, since it made a part of the military constitution established by Lycurgus.

If it be true that the Sciritæ fought on horseback, as Xenophon gives us to understand, (*x*) we need no longer be surprised at the assertion of that historian, that Lycurgus instituted six morœ for the cavalry and heavy-armed infantry. (*y*) We shall then say that there were five morœ of Spartan oplitæ, and a sixth composed of the cavalry called Sciritæ.

From the preceding observations it is manifest that if some ancient authors appear to have confounded the mora with the lochos, this may have happened from inadvertence, or an im-

(*n*) Meurs. Lect. Att. lib. 1. c. 16. (*o*) Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 607. (*p*) Schol. Thucyd. in lib. 5. c. 67. (*q*) Hesych. in Σκειρίτ. (*r*) Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 68. (*s*) Id. ibid. c. 67. (*t*) Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 350. (*u*) Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 687. (*x*) Id. de Instit. Cyr. lib. 4. p. 91. (*y*) Id. de Rep. Laced. p. 686.

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proper use of words, by taking the part for the whole. The learned Meursius, who supposes there was no distinction between these two bodies, can produce only feeble testimonies in favour of his opinion, which is contradicted by incontestable facts. If, as he himself allows, there were but five moræ, there could have been but five lochi: yet we have seen that king Agis had seven lochi in his army; (z) to which may be added, that, on another occasion, king Archidamus was at the head of seven lochi. (a)

If each mora took the name of its tribe, it is natural to suppose that the four lochi had distinct names; and we know from Hesychius that the Lacedæmonians gave to one of their lochi the name of *edolos*. (b) Hence we may be allowed to conjecture that the Crotani, who according to Pausanius, (c) made a part of the Pitanatæ, were no other than one of the lochi which composed the mora of that tribe. Hence also, perhaps, the criticism of Thucydides on Herodotus, who, having said, that, at the battle of Platæa, Amompharetus commanded the lochos of the Pitanatæ, (d) Thucydides observes, that there never was at Lacedæmon a body of troops so named; (e) probably because Herodotus should have said the mora, and not the lochos of the Pitanatæ.

How many men did each mora contain? Five hundred, according to Ephorus (f) and Diodorus Siculus; (g) seven hundred, according to Callisthenes; nine hundred, according to Polybius; (h) and three hundred, five hundred, and seven hundred, according to others. (i)

It appears to me that these different opinions ought to be attributed to the changes which the mora underwent at different periods, and the less or greater number of troops which circumstances induced the Lacedæmonians to bring into the field. All the Spartans were enrolled in one of the moræ. When an expedition was to be undertaken, the ephori caused a herald to proclaim that the citizens, from the age of puberty, that is from the age of twenty years, to another age specified, should

(z) Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 68. (a) Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. page 636. (b) Hesych. in Ἔδωλ. (c) Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 240. (d) Herodot. lib. 9. c. 53. (e) Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 20. (f) Plut. in Pelopid. t. i. p. 286. (g) Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 350. (h) Plut. ibid. (i) Etymol. Magn. in Μοῖρ. Ulpian. in Demosth. Meurs. Lect. Attic. lib. 1. c. 16.

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present themselves to serve. (k) Of this we have a remarkable example. At the battle of Leuctra, the king Cleombrutus had four morœ, commanded by the same number of polemarchs, and composed of citizens aged from twenty to thirty-five years. (l) After the loss of the battle, the ephori ordered new levies, when all those of the same morœ who were aged from thirty-five to forty years were appointed to take the field; as also all those between the ages of twenty and forty years, who belonged to the two morœ which had remained at Lacedæmon. (m) It hence follows, that those portions of morœ which made the campaign, were often only detachments, more or less numerous, of the whole body.

We neither have the work of Ephorus, which assigned to the mora five hundred men, nor that of Callisthenes, which gave it seven hundred, nor the passage of Polybius, in which it was increased to nine hundred; but we may venture to affirm, that all these numbers only related to particular cases, and that Diodorus Siculus has not explained himself with sufficient exactness when he absolutely says that each mora consisted of five hundred men. (n)

We are not better informed of the number of soldiers contained in the subdivisions of the mora. Thucydides observes, (o) that, from the care which the Lacedæmonians took to conceal their operations, it was not known what number of troops they had at the first battle of Mantinea, but that a conjecture might be formed from the following calculation. King Agis was at the head of seven lochi; each lochos contained four pentecostyes, each pentecostys four enomotiæ, and each enomotia was drawn up with four men in front, and, in general, eight deep.

From this passage, the scholiast concludes, that on this occasion the enomotia contained thirty-two men, the pentecostys one hundred and twenty-eight, and the lochos five hundred and twelve. But if the lochos had always been composed in the same manner, the historian would, no doubt, have contented himself with saying the Lacedæmonians had seven lochi, without having recourse to this mode of calculation.

The enomotiæ likewise did not invariably consist of the

(k) Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 685. (l) Id. Hist. Græc. p. 579. (m) Id. ibid. p. 597. (n) Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 350. (o) Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 68.

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same number of men. At the battle I have just mentioned, they in general contained thirty-two men each, at that of Leuctra they consisted of thirty-six, and Suidas reduces them to twenty-five.(*p*)

NOTE VIII.—CHAP. LI.—PAGE 119.

On the Sums of Money brought into Lacedæmon by Lysander.

DIODORUS SICULUS (*q*) relates, that, after the taking of Sestus, a city of the Hellespont, Lysander caused to be conveyed to Lacedæmon, by Gylippus, a large quantity of spoils, and a sum of 1500 talents, or 8,100,000 livres (337,500*l.* sterling.) After the taking of Athens, Lysander, on his return to Lacedæmon, remitted to the magistrates, besides other valuable things, 480 talents, which remained in his hands of the money furnished by the younger Cyrus. (*r*) If these sums are to be considered as distinct, it will follow that Lysander brought home from his expedition, in ready money, 1980 talents, that is to say, 10,692,000 livres, (445,500*l.* sterling.)

NOTE IX.—CHAP. LII.—PAGE 137.

On the ceasing of Human Sacrifices.

I HAVE said that human sacrifices were abolished in Arcadia in the fourth century before Christ. But a passage may be objected to me from Pausanius, who lived six hundred years after. He in fact says, that these sacrifices still subsisted in Arcadia and at Carthage. (*s*) This author relates in his works many particulars that he had borrowed from a treatise which we no longer have, and which was written by Theophrastus. But, as he tells us (*t*) that he added several things to those he quoted from Theophrastus, we know not to which of these two authors we ought to attribute the passage under consideration, which is in part contradicted by another passage in Porphyri, who observes, (*u*) that Iphicrates abolished human sacrifices at Carthage. It is of little importance to inquire, whether, instead of

(*p*) Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 596. Suid. in Ἐναμοτ. (*q*) Lib. 13. p. 225. (*r*) Xenoph. ibid. lib. 2. p. 462. (*s*) Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 2. § 27. p. 150. (*t*) Id. ibid. § 32. p. 162. (*u*) Id. ibid. § 36. p. 202.

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Iphicrates, we ought not to read Gelon? the contradiction is not less evident. The silence of other authors has appeared to me of great weight in this question. Would Pausanius, especially who enters into the most minute details respecting religious ceremonies, have omitted a fact of such importance? And how was it possible he should have forgotten it, when, speaking of Lycaon, king of Arcadia, he says that he was changed into a wolf for having sacrificed an infant? (*x*) Plato indeed says (*y*) that these sacrifices still subsisted in some nations, but he does not say that these nations were Greeks.

NOTE X.—CHAP. LVI.—PAGE 226.

On the Import and Export Duties at Athens.

DURING the Peloponnesian war, these duties were farmed at thirty-six talents, or 194,400 livres, (8,100*l.*) (*z*) If we add to this the profit of the farmers, we may estimate the whole sum at 200,000 livres (8,333*l.*) and thence conclude that the foreign trade of the Athenians amounted annually to about ten millions of livres (416,666*l.*)

NOTE XI.—SAME CHAP.—PAGE 231.

On the Contributions which the Athenians drew from their Allies.

THE four hundred and sixty talents which were drawn annually from the states leagued against the Persians, and which the Athenians deposited in the citadel, at first amounted to the sum of ten thousand talents,* according to Isocrates; (*a*) or nine thousand seven hundred,† according to Thucydides. (*b*) Pericles, during his administration, had laid up eight thousand; (*c*) but having expended three thousand seven hundred, either in the embellishment of the city, or the first expenses of the siege of Potidæa, the nine thousand seven hundred were reduced to six thousand‡ at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. (*d*)

(*x*) Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 2. p. 600. (*y*) Plat. de Leg. lib. 6 tom. ii. p. 782. (*z*) Andocid. de Myst. p. 17. * 54,000,000 livres (2,250,000l.) (*a*) Isocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 395. † 52,380,000 livres (2,182,500l.) (*b*) Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 13. (*c*) Isocr. ibid. ‡ 32.400,000 livres (1,350,000l.) (*d*) Isocr. ibid.

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This war was suspended by a truce which the Athenians entered into with Lacedæmon. The contributions which they had then received amounted to twelve or thirteen hundred talents; and, during the seven years which the truce lasted, they placed seven thousand talents* in the public treasury.(e)

NOTE XII.—CHAP. LVII.—PAGE 243.

On the Definition of Man.

PORPHYRY, in his introduction to the doctrine of the Peripatetics, defines man a rational and moral animal. (f) I have not found this definition in the works which still remain of Aristotle. Perhaps he had used it in some of those that are lost, or perhaps he never used it at all. He often gives another, which Plato and other philosophers had adopted, and which is only an enumeration of some of the external qualities of man. (g) Yet, as a real difference was then admitted between rational and irrational animals, (h) it may be asked, why the faculty of reasoning was not generally chosen for the specific difference of man? I will endeavour to solve this difficulty.

The word which the Greeks made use of to denote an animal, signifies a living being: (i) a rational animal, then, is a living being endowed with understanding and reason. This definition agrees to man, but still more eminently to the Divinity; and this consideration induced the Pythagoreans to place God and man among the rational animals, that is to say, among rational living beings. (k) It was necessary therefore to seek a new difference, which might separate man from the Supreme Being, and likewise from all celestial intelligences.

As every definition ought to give a clear idea of the thing defined, and as the nature of spirits is not sufficiently known, the philosophers who wished to class man in the scale of beings, fixed their attention in preference on his exterior qualities.

* 37,800,000 livres (1,575,000*l.*) (e) Andocid. de Pac. page 24. Plut. in Aristid. tom. i. p. 333. (f) Porphyr. Isagog. in Oper. Aristot. tom. i. p. 7. (g) Aristot. Topic. lib. 6. c. 3. p. 244; c. 4. p. 245. Id. Metaph. lib. 7. c. 12. t. ii. p. 920 (h) Id. de Anim. lib. 3. c. 11. t. i. p. 659. (i) Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 77. (k) Aristot. ap. Iambl. de Vit. Pythag. c. 6. p. 23

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They said that man is an *animal*, which distinguished him from all inanimate bodies; and they successively added the words *terrestrial*, to distinguish him from the animals which live in the air or the water; *two-footed*, to separate him from quadrupeds, reptiles, &c.; and *featherless*, that he might not be confounded with birds. And when Diogenes, by a well known pleasantry, had shown that this definition would equally apply to a cock, or any other bird, deprived of its feathers, a new character was added, taken from the form of the nails. (*l*) In the time of Porphyry, to obviate a part of the inconveniences of which I have spoken, man was defined a rational and mortal animal. (*m*) The word *mortal* we have since taken away, because, according to the idea which we annex to the word *animal*, every animal is mortal.

Note xiii.—Chap. lix.—Page 317.

On the Produce of an Athenian Farm.

Demosthenes (*n*) mentions a private person of Athens, named Phœnippus, who having obtained the quantity of barley and wine stated in the text, sold each medimnus of barley for eighteen drachmas (16 liv. 4 sols, or 13*s*. 6*d*.), and each metretes of wine for twelve drachmas (10 liv. 16 sols, or 9*s*.); but as he afterward (*o*) says, that these prices, perhaps on account of some scarcity, were triple the ordinary value of the commodities, it follows that, in his time, the common price of the medimnus of barley was six drachmas, and that of the metretes of wine four drachmas. A thousand medimni of barley (a little more than four thousand bushels) were therefore worth six thousand drachmas (5400 liv. or 225*l*.); and eight hundred metretæ of wine, three thousand two hundred drachmas (2880 liv. or 120*l*.): total, 8280 liv. or 345*l*.

Phœnippus had besides six beasts of burden, which were continually employed in carrying to the city wood and other kinds of materials, (*p*) and which brought him daily twelve

(*l*) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 6. § 40. (*m*) Porphyr. Isagog. in Oper. Aristot. t. i. p. 7. (*n*) Demosth. in Phœnip. p. 1025. (*o*) Id. ibid. p. 1027. (*p*) Id. ibid. p. 1023.

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drachmas (10 liv. 15 sols, or 9s.) The festivals, bad weather, or work that might not be neglected, frequently interrupted this little traffic; but if we suppose that it only took place for two hundred days in the year, we shall find that Phœnippus annually received a profit of 2160 liv. (90*l.*); which, added to the 8280 livres, gives 10440 livres (435*l.*) for the produce of a farm little more than a league and a half in circuit.

Note xiv.—Same Chap.—Page 320.

On the Queen Bee.

It appears, by the passage of Xenophon quoted in the text, that the author considered the principal bee as a female. Naturalists afterwards were divided on this subject; some imagining that all the bees were females, and all the drones males; and others maintaining the contrary. Aristotle, who refutes their opinions, admitted in each hive a class of kings which continued their species: he confesses, however, that sufficient observations to determine any thing with certainty had not been made: (*q*) these observations have been since made, and naturalists have returned to the opinion which I attribute to Xenophon.

Note xv.—Same Chap.—Page 327

On Melons.

From some expressions to be found in the ancient writers, there seems reason to suppose that, at the time of which I here speak, the Greeks were acquainted with melons, and considered them as a species of cucumber; but these expressions not being sufficiently clear, I shall content myself with referring my readers to the modern critics, as Jul. Scalig. in Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 7. cap. 3. p. 741; Bod. a Stapel. in cap. 4. ejusd. libr. p. 782; and several others.

(*q*) Aristot. Hist. Anim. lib. 5. c. 21. t. i. p. 852. Id. de Gener. Anim. lib. 3. c. 10. p. 1110.

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Note xvi.—Same Chap.—Page 345.

On the Soul of the World.

The commentators on Plato, both ancient and modern, are divided concerning the nature of the soul of the world. According to some, Plato supposed that there had eternally existed, in chaos a vital force, or gross soul, which irregularly agitated matter, from which it was distinct; and that, consequently, the soul of the world was composed of the divine essence, of matter, and of the vicious principle from all eternity united to matter. *Ex divinæ naturæ portione quâdam, et ex re quâdam aliâ distinctâ a Deo, et cum materiâ sociatâ.* (*r*)

Others, to exculpate Plato from the censure of having admitted two eternal principles, the one the author of good and the other of evil, have affirmed that, according to that philosopher, the disorderly motion of chaos did not proceed from a particular soul, but was inherent in matter. To this it has been objected, that in his Phædrus, and in his treatise on laws, he has expressly said that all motion supposes a soul by which it is produced. It will, no doubt, be replied, that he here speaks of a regular and productive motion; but that of the chaos, being disorderly and sterile, was not directed by an intelligent principle; and thus Plato does not contradict himself. (*s*) Those who wish to see this subject elucidated, may consult, among other writers, Cudw. c. 4. § 13; Moshem. ibid. not. *k*; Bruck. t. i. p. 684 et 704.

Note xvii.—Chap. lx.—Page 354.

On the precise Time of the Expedition of Dion.

The note which I here add may be considered as the continuation of that which I have given above, on the voyages of Plato, and which refers to Chap. XXXIII. of this work.

(*r*) Mosheim. in Cudworth. tom. i. cap. 4. § 13. p. 310. (*s*) Bruck. Hist. Philos. t. i. p. 688.

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Plutarch observes, that when Dion set sail from Zacynthus for Sicily, the troops were alarmed by an eclipse of the moon; and that this expedition was undertaken in the middle of summer. Dion was twelve days in his passage to the coast of Sicily; and on the thirteenth, attempting to double the promontory of Pachynum, he met with a violent tempest: for, adds the historian, it was the time of the rising of Arcturus. (*t*) But we know that in that age Arcturus began to appear in Sicily about the middle of our month of September. Thus, according to Plutarch, Dion departed from Zacynthus towards the middle of the month of August.

On the other hand, Diodorus Siculus (*u*) places the expedition of Dion in the archonship of Agathocles, who entered on his office in the beginning of the 4th year of the 105th Olympiad, and consequently on the 27th of June of the year 357 before Christ. (*x*)

But, according to the calculations which M. de la Lande has had the goodness to communicate to me, there was an eclipse of the moon visible at Zacynthus on the 9th of August of the year 357 before Christ, which must be that mentioned by Plutarch. There are few dates in chronology ascertained with equal certainty. It will be proper to add, that M. Pingré has calculated the middle of this eclipse to have been at three quarters after six in the evening. See the *Chronology of Eclipses* in vol. xlii. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, Hist. p. 130.

NOTE XVIII.—CHAP. LXI.—PAGE 437.

On an Expression of the Orator Demades.

DEMADES, a man of great wit, and one of the principal orators in Athens, lived in the time of Demosthenes. A number of happy and forcible repartees are attributed to him; (*y*) but among his pleasantries there are some which we should charge with affectation. Such is the following:—As the Athe-

(*t*) Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 968. (*u*) Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 413. (*x*) Corsin. Fast. Attic. tom. iv. p. 20. Dodw. de Cycl. p. 719. (*y*) Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. c. 299.

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nians rose at the crowning of the cock, Demades called the crier who summoned them to the assembly, *the public cock of Athens.* (z) If the Athenians were not disgusted at this metaphor, it is probable that they would not have disapproved of that of *solar register**, ventured by La Motte to signify a sun-dial. (a)

(z) Athen. lib. 3. c. 21. p. 99. * *Greffier solaire.* (a) Liv. 3. fab. 2.

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